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The Shape of Things

IN WARNING AGAINST IMPERIALISM IN THE guise of a "realistic" policy of post-war military alliances, Sumner Welles has sharply clarified the basic foreign policy issue now before the American people. Mr. Welles was profoundly right when he declared that isolationism is dead and that the choice facing us is between a true world organization and a system of military alliances involving "the indefinite piling up of armaments and their inevitable adjunct, stark imperialism." His analysis of the danger of relying on force or a system of alliances to preserve peace was one of the most trenchant yet made by an important national figure. He pointed out that such alliances at best provide a "temporary and precarious balance of power," and that even while they exist the members will inevitably engage in jockeying for individual influence and selfish advantage—as they are, in fact, doing in the course of the war. This rivalry can only be held in check by an international organization strong enough to establish security on the basis of law and equity. The formation of such an organization cannot safely be postponed until some convenient time after the war. Basic decisions affecting the future of the world are being made every day—chiefly by the three great powers. If these decisions are to reflect anything more solid than the interests and rivalries of those powers, they should be worked out by the United Nations as a whole. Mr. Welles appeals for the immediate establishment of some kind of United Nations political council—a move we have long advocated.

*

THERE IS NOT MUCH TIME LEFT TO FIND THE way out of the Soviet-Polish impasse. In the course of the summer the Red Army will probably complete its reoccupation of the controversial eastern provinces and cross the Curzon Line into undisputed Polish territory. A dangerous situation will then arise if there is no Polish government in existence which enjoys both popular support in the country and good relations with the Soviet government. The Polish government in exile claims it commands the allegiance of the vast majority of Poles—a difficult matter to prove under present circumstances—but it certainly does not command the confidence of Moscow. Some commentators here profess to see in the

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Russian demand for a friendly regime in Poland an insistence on a communist puppet government. The close relations between Moscow and the definitely non-communist Czechoslovakian government ought to dispel this idea. The Soviets have not made any pronouncement on the future social system of Poland. They have, not unreasonably, indicated that they will not tolerate a Poland dominated or influenced by elements who, to quote Walter Lippmann, "even before they are liberated from the Nazis conceive themselves as the spearpoint of a hostile coalition against the Soviet Union." Recently hostility to such elements has become manifest among the London exiles. Criticism of reactionary officers, brought to a head by revelations of anti-Semitism in the army, has resulted in a demand by the National Council that the commander in chief, General Sosnkowski, be divested of his appointment as successor to the presidency. Against this timid first step to check the militarists who surround President Raczkiewicz must be set the enforced resignation of Stefan Litauer, an able journalist who has worked for agreement with Russia, as chief press officer of the Polish Ministry of Information.

✶

SPRING HOUSE-CLEANING FOR GOVERNMENTS in exile is part of the preparation for D-Day. In Lebanon the conference of all Greek political parties and resistance groups called by Premier Panpandreou has signed a "national charter" as a basis for an inclusive coalition government. The unity program is believed to include the formation of a national army which will consolidate the regular forces with the various partisan contingents. This brings hope for an end of the internecine warfare which has so reduced the effectiveness of the Greek resistance. But plans may still be upset by the recalcitrance of the King, relying on British backing. In London the Yugoslav government is in the midst of one of its perennial crises. King Peter has made a gesture to Marshal Tito by announcing the dismissal of General Mihailovich as Minister of War, and is seeking to reorganize the Cabinet. It is reported that four men are under consideration as the new Premier, among them Dr. Ivan Subasich, former governor of Croatia. Dr. Subasich is one of the ablest leaders of the Croatian Peasant Party and from the beginning has been a strong supporter of Tito. But at the same time he retains a warm devotion to the royal family, and the fact that he has the approval of the British and American governments suggests he may have been brought forward to bolster up a shaky monarchy.

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THE RESULTS OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE of British Commonwealth prime ministers give hope to people distressed by recent signs of a return to power politics. Many feared that the conference itself was an attempt to forge an empire bloc to match the strength of the "Soviet colossus" and the United States. As Professor F. H. Underhill forecast in *The Nation* of May 5, nothing of the sort has taken place. Accepting the leadership of MacKenzie King of Canada, the conference expressed its devotion to the Commonwealth in its existing form and refused to entertain proposals for a more closely integrated empire. Mr. King, in a speech before the British House of Commons, stressed the autonomy and freedom of each of the British nations. Canada in its relations with the United States provides "surely the supreme example of a smaller nation living in the fullest security and harmony with a powerful one." But the conference went far beyond refusing to consider an empire bloc and insisting that each nation be free to direct its own foreign policy. Twice in a generation the Commonwealth nations have banded together to wage a common war against aggression. Now they declare there must be set up "a world organization . . . to maintain peace and security . . . endowed with the necessary power and authority to prevent aggression and violence."

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IN THE PRE-WAR DECADE LATIN AMERICAN countries suffered from raw-material surpluses and a lack of foreign exchange to pay for imported manufactures. Today they have a hungry war-time market for most of their raw materials and a large and growing surplus of dollars. They are prosperous, but as Mr. del Vayo shows in his examination of Mexico's economic position on page 621, it is a feverish kind of prosperity. Speculators are flourishing, but inflation is impoverishing the masses. There is an abundance of capital, but it is not possible to invest much of it in ways that will permanently increase the industrial equipment of the country. Obviously with many lines of production restricted in this country it is not easy for Latin American countries to offset the money receipts from their raw-material exports by importing consumer goods. And war priorities make machinery and other forms of capital goods almost equally hard to buy. But it ought to have been possible to set up south of the border some of the war plants, redundant here when peace comes, which could have made a permanent contribution to the industrialization of our neighbors. For instance, we might have permitted the export of copper-fabricating machinery to Mexico and taken some part of the copper we are deriving from that country in the form of shell cases. It is, of course, commonly argued that by assisting the industrialization of "backward" countries we ruin the market for our own goods. This hoary fallacy ought never to be disinterred after the burial it received in the past week at the first Conference of Commissions of Inter-American Development. Again and again government speakers and business men alike stressed the point that the more other countries were able to build up their wealth through industrialization, the better customers they became.

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THE DIES COMMITTEE'S UN-AMERICANISM received its third major jolt within a fortnight when Representative John M. Costello was defeated in the California Democratic primary by Hal Styles, a pro-New Deal radio commentator. The setback was as unexpected as the earlier defeat of Representative Starnes in Alabama and Martin Dies's own withdrawal before the bitter opposition within his constituency. The public's repudiation of Costello was the more significant since he had sought to feather his political nest by violent attacks on the West Coast Japanese American évacués. In these attacks he had the enthusiastic backing of a score of California's super-patriotic organizations and of most of the press. The unanticipated collapse of anti-Japanese racialism as an effective political weapon in California is particularly encouraging in view of the similar failure of the white-supremacy issue in the Florida and Alabama primaries and the defeat of the Blease machine—campaigning on an anti-Negro, anti-New Deal platform—at the South Carolina Democratic convention. The results of recent elections have so badly frightened demagogues like Rankin of Mississippi and Hoffman of Michigan that they have launched violent attacks against the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, which they credit with responsibility for the elimination of Starnes, Dies, and Costello. However, the trend against reaction has appeared in such widely separated parts of the country under such diverse circumstances that it can hardly be credited to any one agency.

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THE RETIREMENT OF MARTIN DIES MAKES US wonder about the next stage of the fascinating career of his research director and chief informer, J. B. Matthews. All sorts of possibilities must present themselves to Mr. Matthews's fertile mind. He could tie up with Gerald L. K. Smith or one of the other fascist tub-thumpers still at large. He could sell his considerable talents to Henry Ford or to Sewell Avery. But a more imaginative move would be back to the left. Just as Mr. Matthews, through his long association with Communist-fringe organizations, was able to initiate the Dies committee into the mysteries of transmission belts and innocent fronts and splinter groups—and also to hand over membership lists and letterheads—so today, through his years with Martin Dies, he must know all about the plans and purposes of the Extreme Right. Why not offer his services and this rich collection of fasciana to some enterprising labor organization or progressive political group? The C. I. O. Political Action Committee, last major victim of the Dies vendetta, might take on Mr. Matthews. How about it, gentlemen? Here we have one first-class renegade, only slightly soiled, his coat lining almost as good as new. He can be had, we'd say, for a modest sum—the traditional thirty pieces of silver, perhaps. . . . What, no bids?

HIT BY GUNFIRE FROM A LOW-FLYING NAZI plane, the young Serbian patriot, Nicholas Mirkovich, has died in Yugoslavia. We record his death with intimate regret and admiration. For Mirkovich was one of the finest and most courageous among the liberal Yugoslav group in America. By profession an economist, he came to this country to serve in the Office of Economic Reconstruction as associate of the chairman, S. Kosanovich. He was also chairman of the Agricultural Committee of the Central and Eastern European Planning Board and a member of the Economic Committee of the United Nations Information Office. He often contributed to *The Nation* and we turned to him for guidance in many problems connected with Balkan affairs. When the government-in-exile revealed its extreme reactionary tendencies, Mirkovich enlisted in the American army and asked to be sent to the Yugoslav front. Before he left this country he told his friends that for him the time had come to turn science and political theory into living realities. In an American contingent he fought side by side with Tito's Partisans. His death is a profound loss to his people and indeed to the democratic cause in the Balkan countries as a whole; it can serve a purpose only if the world that emerges from the bitter struggle is the one for which he gave himself so freely and with such complete lack of self-concern.

The Empty French Seat

THE great Allied invasion machine, we are told, is all tuned up and ready to be slipped into high gear whenever the word comes. But the political trailer which it must pull behind it is not yet fully loaded. Representatives of Norway, Belgium, and Holland are in their seats, each equipped with an agreement with the United States and Britain enabling them to get to work reconstituting the civil administration in their countries as soon as the military situation permits. But the place reserved for France remains empty, while somewhere in the rear the long wrangle continues about the terms on which the nominee of the French Committee of National Liberation is to be allowed to occupy it.

We noted in these pages two weeks ago that negotiations on this question had been interrupted by the difficulties which British security rules had placed in the way of communications between London and Algiers. It has since become known that this breach is rather less serious than it then appeared. General Koenig, the French representative, is continuing his talks with General Eisenhower, and apparently the British have allowed him to send some coded messages to General de Gaulle. But although it is some weeks since Mr. Hull said that the Anglo-American authorities were "disposed" to see the French Committee "exercise leadership" in freed

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France and Mr. Eden declared that civic responsibility would rest on its shoulders, there have been no hints that a final agreement is near conclusion.

What is causing the hitch? We can be sure that the French Committee will not be disposed to accept an agreement any less favorable than those signed last week by the United States and Britain with the exile governments of Norway, Belgium, and Holland. The terms of these pacts have not been published, but it is understood that they closely resemble the occupation agreement between Russia and Czechoslovakia. This is a brief and uncomplicated document which gives the commander of the invading army supreme authority to the extent that military necessity dictates but provides for the reversion of the civil administration to the Czechoslovak government in any part of the liberated territory which ceases to be an actual war zone.

There is no reason to suppose that the French Committee would refuse to sign a similar agreement. The question is whether the United States and Britain are prepared to grant the committee recognition as a de facto provisional government, for that is what such an agreement would imply. Hitherto this recognition has been refused, usually on the ground that it would compromise the right of the French people to decide their own future. But the French Committee has prepared elaborate plans for holding elections and summoning a constitutional assembly as soon as the military situation permits. How long a period must elapse before these plans are put into effect obviously depends on the speed with which the Nazis are defeated. Meanwhile civil administration will have to be carried on in the liberated regions and preparations made for free elections, including the repatriation of millions of deportees.

There must be one authority to perform these tasks. Both the American and British governments are on record as denying any intention of dealing with Vichy, and this would seem to leave the field clear for the National Committee unless the State Department is hiding some other group up its sleeve. It is inconceivable, however, that any third group could have credentials which would carry any weight with the French people. Every refugee escaping from France brings evidence that it is to De Gaulle and the National Committee that the French people are looking for leadership. The latest proof of this fact is offered by Louis Marin, veteran conservative leader, who declared on arrival in London: "He [De Gaulle] is the only man the country will stand for as a constitutional leader, until normal conditions can be restored."

The rift between the French and the Western powers is growing in a dangerous manner. It can only be bridged by general and prompt recognition of the right of France to command its own destiny under leaders of its own choice and to have a full share in the resettlement of Europe. We must stop harping on the miserable divisions which defeated France in 1940 and accord full weight to the resilience of spirit that is showing itself in the heroism of the underground and on the Italian battlefield. France is recovering its strength, and we should not take offense if that process is marked by sharp demands for equality. For a strong and healthy France must be the cornerstone of European reconstruction.

Poll Tax—Second Round

THE anti-poll-tax bill, twice passed by overwhelming majorities in the House, has been blocked again in the Senate. Ostensibly the bill's passage was made impossible by the threat of a filibuster and by the unwillingness of the necessary two-thirds to impose cloture against this traditional minority weapon. Actually a majority of the Senate, pledged in writing to passage of the bill, used theoretical objections to cloture as a means of breaking their word. The abolition of the poll tax would work a revolution in the Senate, blasting from key positions the old reactionaries whom the Southern oligarchy returns to Washington year after year, and whom the rule of seniority elevates and maintains in the committee system.

The defeat of the anti-poll-tax bill in the Senate must be laid at the door of the Republican Party, which in alliance with progressive Democrats could have forced cloture and prevented a filibuster. The party leadership chose instead to continue its covert comradeship with the Southern Democrats. Last year the latter betrayed their party by blocking the soldiers' vote bill. This year the Republicans returned the favor by betraying *their* party and blocking cloture, the one measure which could have saved the poll-tax bill. Governor Dewey might have forced Republican Senators to vote for cloture had his reply to Walter White of the N. A. A. C. P. been specific and forthright instead of vague and disingenuous. Dewey said he had "always fought against the poll tax and every device to deprive free people of their votes." But many of the Southern Senators, including even Bilbo, declared themselves opposed to the poll tax. If one took their statements at face value, they were opposed only to abolition of the poll tax by federal legislation. This was the crucial question, and Dewey left it unanswered.

While Dewey was craftily evasive, his party's Senate leader, White of Maine, was openly hostile to the anti-poll-tax bill. It was Senator White who bluntly interpreted the vote against cloture as a vote against the bill, which it was. Had the Republicans made a party issue of the poll tax, few of the thirteen Northern and Western Democrats who voted against cloture would have dared to do so. As it was, a Northern Democrat like Walsh of New Jersey could safely vote against cloture; his Re-

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publican colleague, Hawkes, voted the same way. Most of the Northern Democratic votes against cloture came from the Mountain States of the Far West, often allied with the Southerners. In the South itself Lister Hill spoke against the anti-poll-tax bill. Thomas of Oklahoma, who was absent, was supposed to be paired for cloture. Only Pepper of Florida, not a poll-tax state, pleaded for cloture and for the bill.

Walter White of the N. A. A. C. P. was fully justified in calling the performance in the Senate "a farce" and in deploring the "lackadaisical attitude" of the anti-poll-tax Senators. The White House felt that it could not get the anti-poll-tax bill through the Senate and put up no fight. At the last session the anti-poll-tax bill was introduced in the Senate by Pepper. This year, with a bitter primary fight on his hands, he seemed only too ready to heed the Administration's request that he soft-pedal the campaign against the poll tax, and he did not again introduce the bill. The White House felt understandably reluctant to split the Democratic Party wide open on an issue it could not win. It is pleasant to note nevertheless that the majority leader, Barkley of Kentucky, acquitted himself most honorably in the final showdown in the Senate, and spoke with vigor and ability for the bill and cloture.

The National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax is confident that despite this second defeat in the Senate the poll tax will ultimately be abolished. *The Nation* agrees. A major reform of this kind cannot be accomplished overnight. In a few short years the committee has made the country conscious of the poll-tax evil and of its national significance. That in itself is an accomplishment; the vote against cloture was a cowardly gesture, but that it was necessary is encouraging. For a majority of the Senate thereby indicated that public pressure against the poll tax has become so strong that they dared not risk a vote on the merits.

China's Present Danger

ALTHOUGH fierce fighting is still reported from some sections of the Honan front, nothing is to be gained by hiding the fact that the Japanese have won a major victory in that area. The full extent of the military setback suffered by China is yet to be seen, but even if the Chinese at Loyang succeed in escaping the trap that the Japanese set for them, the defeat must still be regarded as the most serious suffered by China since the loss of Hankow in 1938. If the substantial Chinese armies still fighting in Honan are wiped out—a fate that is not unlikely—the Japanese would be in a position to launch a drive southward against Changsha with a view to opening direct railroad communications from Manchuria all the way to Canton, a distance of some 2,000 miles. A secondary drive up the Lunghai railroad to Sian and the province of Shensi would also be a distinct and dangerous possibility.

The gravity of the situation can best be appreciated if it is considered in the light of the announced United Nations strategy for the defeat of Japan. Admiral Nimitz has indicated that the goal of the present naval drive in the Pacific is the seizure of a port, presumably in the southern part of China, to provide adequate supplies for an all-out aerial bombardment of Japan's industrial centers. The Ledo road, the opening of which is the object of Stilwell's present successful campaign in Burma, would provide a supplementary flow of supplies. The first part of this plan obviously presumes United Nations control of the railway from Canton northward, for this is one route which could be used for transporting heavy equipment and supplies from the port to air bases in the north. A Japanese drive into Shensi would block the alternative overland route to North Central China via the Ledo road, Kunming, and Chungking. Furthermore, possession of the north-south Peking-Canton rail route and the east-west Lunghai railway would enable the Japanese to strengthen their Chinese defenses to such an extent that it might require years to drive them out.

Some Chinese have declared that the present crisis is a result of America's failure to send adequate supplies to China. That the problem is considerably more complex than this is indicated by the fact that some 500,000 of Chiang Kai-shek's best-trained and best-equipped troops have been immobilized within a hundred or so miles of the present conflict by their long-standing assignment of blockading the Chinese Communist armies. The American government can hardly be blamed for not sending more supplies to Chungking as long as a strong possibility exists that such supplies would be used, not against the Japanese, but to encourage a disastrous civil war. Nor is America's hesitancy in providing aid directly to Chiang Kai-shek likely to be lessened by statements recently made by prominent Chinese in this country to the effect that the Chinese Communists are "greater enemies than the Japanese."

Fortunately, the political situation within China has shown distinct signs of improvement within recent weeks. Statements such as those of Sun Fo acknowledging the justice of Western criticism of the anti-democratic tendencies within China are clearly straws in the wind. After months of vain pleading, the foreign correspondents in Chungking have at last been granted permission to visit Yenan, the capital of the Communist special district. And on top of this comes news that Lin Tso-han, chairman of the Communist administration, has arrived in Chungking to attempt to negotiate a settlement with Chiang Kai-shek. If an agreement could be reached, the

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military picture would be changed overnight. For such an agreement would release not only the 500,000 first-line Kuomintang troops which have been enforcing the blockade but would make possible the arming and equipping of at least an equal number of soldiers attached to the Chinese Red Army who are stationed near the threatened area.

To date the United States government has followed a wait-and-see policy toward China's internal conflict. To some extent this would seem to be justified because of the threat of civil war. But it has had the effect of leaving China in the lurch militarily—and thus lengthening the war—while contributing nothing to the solution of China's problems. Democratic groups within China have been bitterly disillusioned by the negative nature of our policy. They feel that China could easily be revitalized and united in the war against Japan if the United States would only throw its immense prestige in the direction of unity and democracy. Obviously, this cannot be accomplished as long as we hold aloof and refuse to give adequate aid. Assistance should be made available on as large a scale as possible, but it should be made contingent upon concrete assurances against civil war through a Kuomintang-Communist settlement and upon elimination of such policies as the recent attempt to exercise "thought control" over Chinese students abroad. The present visit of Vice-President Wallace to Chungking offers an excellent opportunity for some plain speaking regarding the mutual obligations involved in our common war against Japan.

A Catholic Looks at the Dies Committee

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, May 19

I KNOW of no more important long-range political task for American progressives than to prevent the continuation of the Dies committee, even *sans* Dies. J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey, the ranking Republican on the committee, has already called for its reconstitution as a permanent body, and Thomas is, if anything, a shade worse than the Texan. In this connection I should like to call attention to a book bearing the copyright of the Catholic University of America Press. The book is "The Dies Committee: A Study of the Special House Committee for the Investigation of Un-American Activities, 1938-1943," by August Raymond Ogden,* a Christian Brother, a member of one of the teaching orders of the Roman Catholic church. The first full-length study of the Dies committee, the book was written by Brother August Raymond as his Ph.D. dissertation for the Faculty of the School of Social Science at the Catholic University. The author's opinions are of course his own, but the dissertation was published, as the preface notes, "with the permission of Brother A. Ernest, Provincial." One of the Catholics to whom the author acknowledges a debt of gratitude is Father Wilfred Parsons, the former editor of *America,* an astute Jesuit publicist, teacher, and historian, and hardly, I may add, a leftist.

In directing attention to the author's calling, the circumstances under which the book came to be written and published, and its associations, I intend no condescension. The book is a good book, a solid, competent, and comprehensive job. I do not agree with all the author's conclusions, but I finished it with respect for his ability as a writer and his honesty as a reporter. And there are no ifs and buts, lay or clerical, about Brother August Raymond's belief in democracy and in fair procedure. This book, from any source, would deserve the very widest attention. I am stressing its source and its context only because these may give it a hearing and inspire confidence in its conclusions in circles no radical like myself could hope to reach or persuade. The author believes "the confusion and violent change brought about by war will tend to foster extreme movements of both the right and the left." He thinks there are "many aspects of subversive activities that only a Congressional committee could thoroughly and completely expose." His basic point of view is made clear when he says, "Throughout this study it is borne in mind that a good end never justifies improper means and that the anomalous use of undemocratic means, even in the slightest degree, in order to preserve democracy constitutes, in effect, a threat to democracy itself." The author feels that "if the country ever reaches a stage where democratic means are found inadequate to preserve its liberties, then democracy will have become a hollow shell." He reaches his conclusion after 275 pages of careful and objective history and analysis, and that verdict is of immediate relevance and importance. Brother August Raymond says:

> This study of the Special House Committee for the Investigation of Un-American Activities indicates that the said committee is neither an ideal nor a desired means of exposing subversive activities. It has not

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wholly failed in its endeavors, but with different methods and better procedure it could have performed far more efficient service. Hence, without disparaging the accomplishments of the committee or impugning the motives of any person connected with it, it seems that the Congress should discontinue the Dies committee as the first step to a solution of the very difficult problem facing it. Improvement in the procedure of the Dies committee cannot be recommended because its past history does not furnish any guaranty that such improvement would be permanent or, indeed, that the committee could be expected to change its ways.

The book opens with an interesting discussion of the Congressional investigative process itself and then surveys the predecessors of the Dies committee. The basic pattern of most of them was visible in the first. It was precipitated by a public meeting in favor of Soviet Russia held in Poli's Theater, Washington, on February 2, 1919. The Senate, after a flurry of alarmed speeches, instructed the Attorney General to investigate. The Attorney General, T. W. Gregory, was a brave and honest man and found nothing wrong with the meeting. But the Overman committee, then investigating the brewing industry and German propaganda, seized on this overpublicized meeting to obtain a year's extension in which to study Bolshevist as well as German propaganda. Senator Hiram W. Johnson of California had the honor to be the first of the line of solitary and thoughtful men who have objected in Congress to these hysterical inquiries. Characteristically, the committee from that point on seems to have paid more attention to Bolshevist than to German propaganda. And Meyer London, then the Socialist Representative from New York, turned up at the hearings to protest. "Mr. Chairman," he said, ". . . every new idea, every new suggestion, every new thought . . . is immediately denounced as Bolshevism. It is not necessary to argue any more . . . it is enough to say, 'That is Bolshevism.' " And *that* is Diesism.

In 1924 a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations investigated subversive activities as a means of blocking recognition of the Soviet Union. In 1927 Sosnowski of Michigan introduced a resolution for an investigation of communism, but it was buried in the House Rules Committee. In 1930 Dickstein and Fish protested against religious persecution in Russia, and Fish got his chance in the uproar over the Amtorg documents produced by Grover Whalen, then Police Commissioner of New York. These were exposed as forgeries by the *Graphic* and attacked on the floor of the House by LaGuardia; and the Fish committee itself was later forced to report that "the testimony failed to establish the genuineness of the so-called 'Whalen documents.' " The House established the Fish committee and gave it $25,000, although Lindsay Warren of North Carolina, now Controller General, tried to strike a note of sanity by saying, "Remove the causes of discontent, and there will be no danger of communistic activity." The Fish committee was noteworthy largely for its fantastic discovery of 500,000 Communists and Communist sympathizers in the United States and for the thoughtful minority report by Nelson of Maine: "Communism thrives during periods of economic depression and social suffering . . . we should proceed to put needed reforms into effect sanely and sensibly, without hate or haste or hysteria . . . we should approach with reserve the consideration of any criminal statutes that seek to fetter the operation of the human mind."

Dies made his debut in this field in 1932 with a bill to deport alien Communists. It won the two-thirds' vote necessary for suspension of the rules in the House and was passed over the objection of LaGuardia, but it was blocked by La Follette in the Senate. The immediate predecessor of the Dies committee was the McCormack-Dickstein investigation into Nazi and other propaganda activities authorized by the House in 1934. This committee, Brother August Raymond finds, did a "good job." It focused attention on Viereck, the work done by the publicity firms of Carl Byoir and Ivy Lee, and the Silver Shirts and other domestic fascist movements, as well as on the Nazis. The author contrasts its procedure with that of the Dies committee: "All witnesses were examined in executive session and then only, if it were deemed necessary, were public hearings held." This, Brother August Raymond writes, "eliminated much useless publicity and prevented the committee from becoming the sounding board for fanatics of any type, as too often happened in other investigations of a like nature." There were twenty-four executive hearings, "at which it was determined if the witnesses had information that was reliable or germane." Only seven public hearings were held, and the records of the others, to protect innocent persons, were placed under seal in the Library of Congress and can be made available only by special act of Congress.

It would be incorrect to say that Dies did not understand the importance of such procedure. For in 1938, in asking the House to approve the resolution for what became the Dies committee, the Texan said, ". . . all depends upon the way the committee is handled. I can conceive that a committee constituted or composed of men whose object is to gain publicity, or whose object is to arouse hatred against some race or creed, might do more harm than good." In an effort to placate Maury Maverick and other opponents of his resolution, Dies declared, "Always we must keep in mind that in any legislative attempt to prevent un-American activities, we might jeopardize fundamental rights far more important than the objective we seek." Maverick, unconvinced, predicted that after the McCormack inquiry one run by Dies would be a "fake side show," and Coffee of Washington

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warned that it would only be a disguise for an attack on all liberal organizations. The warning may have been a recommendation. The House passed the resolution 191 to 41.

It would also be incorrect to say that Dies never followed the wise procedure established by the Dickstein-McCormack committee. Brother August Raymond's examination of the hearings demonstrates that when the Dies committee dealt with fascists and their sympathizers, the procedure was usually of such a character as to protect many of the people involved and to assure them fair treatment. A striking example is provided in the case of Edward James Smythe, now on trial for sedition in Washington. "The latter's files had been seized," the author writes, "and revealed an extensive correspondence with many of the known fascist clique." In similar circumstances, where the left was involved, Brother August Raymond cites case after case in which names and hearsay were made public without the slightest effort to check. But in dealing with Smythe's files, the author says, "it was decided not to release the information, since Dies was afraid that innocent people who had repudiated the movement might be injured." And when Fritz Kuhn, the Bund leader, was before the committee, "the entire hearing was honestly conducted and all due regard paid to Kuhn's rights." But when Dies released to the press the list of government employees belonging to the Washington chapter of the American League for Peace and Democracy, Brother August Raymond notes that the committee "never produced an iota of evidence that, individually, the persons on the list were Communist sympathizers."

[*This is the first of two articles on "The Dies Committee." The second will appear next week.*]

Europe in Exile

BY BOGDAN RADITSA

THE days of exile are drawing to a close. The invasion of the Fortress of Europe will open the gate for the return to their native land of the thousands who sought refuge abroad from the Nazi blitz or joined the fighting forces of the United Nations after their own countries had been occupied. How will they be received, these returning exiles, by the peoples who for four or five years have been living under Nazi tyranny?

One group of political refugees enjoys a special status in their exile. These are the kings, the cabinets, the former members of parliaments who are recognized as the legitimate governments of occupied countries by the other members of the United Nations. The regimes which they attempted to preserve by neutrality treaties, by diplomatic negotiations, even by force of arms, have been overthrown, but the governments survive in exile, claiming to represent the spirit of the nation that is still unconquered, of the new nation that awaits rebirth. In some cases they cling to the threadbare garments of legitimacy even when these no longer evoke the reverence of their people back home.

Another group consists of the leaders and the rank-and-file fighters in the free movements. They went into exile not merely because the old order collapsed but because they would not tolerate fascism or Nazism. Frequently they were bitter opponents of the pre-war governments which paved the way for the fascist victories, governments which still enjoy prestige abroad. They are fighting for an idea. They understand that this is a people's war. The conflict between these men, inspired by a passion for democracy, and those other exiles who simply wish to restore the old order may seriously impede any integrated effort to build a durable peace.

The governments in exile are of course not all alike. A modern Dante would place some in Purgatory, some in Limbo, and some in an everlasting Hell. In Purgatory, to await their final reward, he would put the governments of four constitutional monarchies—Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Norway. They have served the cause of the United Nations well. Apparently they have retained the full respect and confidence of their people. To Limbo would go two governments which have been guilty of no sin except that, in Dante's words, "baptism was not theirs." The exiled governments of Czechoslovakia and France were formed outside the countries they claim to represent. They must obtain Allied blessing before their full legitimacy is recognized. Two governments which have betrayed their people, and which their people have obviously repudiated, Greece and Yugoslavia, would be placed in Hell. Poland presents a problem, since it is difficult to learn the real attitude of the Polish people toward the London government. An objective consideration of the dominant elements in the Cabinet would certainly condemn them to this lowest circle.

Where would the free movements be found in the vision of a modern Dante? I suspect that he would be as perplexed about their status as the Allied diplomats and hesitate to assign them any fixed abode.

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WAITING IN PURGATORY

The Grand Duchess of Luxembourg, whose government conducts its business in a few rooms in an office building in Montreal, still stands at the head of her Lilliputian state. Her people do not question her legitimacy, and their response to her return is assured. They will never forget that she was the first ruler in Europe to lift her voice against fascist aggression.

Nor need Wilhelmina, Queen of the Netherlands, be concerned about the security of her throne. Even the Communists support her. So does the underground. One of the underground newspapers, *Je Maintiendrai,* recently outlined a post-war program calling for a constitutional, democratic monarchy. That is exactly what the House of Orange is.

At the beginning of its exile the Dutch government had a little trouble with its Premier, Jonkheer de Geer. He was an old man, long in service, and when he found himself in London with a Cabinet comprising all the political parties—Catholic and Protestant, Social Democrat and liberal—he felt doubtful of its legality and was hesitant about signing any statement it prepared. He became homesick for his country and his wife, and resigned his post. When he was given a special mission to the Dutch East Indies, he flew to Lisbon instead and from there was transported to Holland in a Nazi plane. Then he simply retired, refusing to become either a Quisling or a leader of the resistance.

His successor, Pieter Gerbrandy, is considered somewhat authoritarian. Two members of his Cabinet, Steenbergh, the Minister of Economic War, and Welter, the Minister for the Colonies, resigned because they could not agree with his policy. But the government has been strengthened by the arrival of Jacob Burger, who has entered the Cabinet as a representative of the resistance movement. A special committee is now engaged in the preparation of post-war plans.

Among the questions most hotly debated is that of the reconstitution of Parliament, only three of whose members are in exile. A group of the younger officers and civil servants favors the suppression of Parliament and of all free political life in Holland for some time after the liberation. The Cabinet, however, seems to favor a return to regular constitutional procedures in full cooperation with the leaders of local resistance movements.

The principle of monarchy is not disputed in Belgium either, but certain difficulties are offered by King Leopold and his attitude toward the war. The New York *Times* on April 15 quoted the Belgian Premier, Hubert Pierlot, as saying that Belgium would remain a monarchy under Leopold. "King Leopold's position," said M. Pierlot, "was fully understood by the nation in his uncompromising refusal to exercise his functions under enemy occupation. Once the King regains his freedom, he will automatically resume the exercise of his constitutional prerogatives, of which he was deprived the moment he became prisoner of war."

There has never been a serious republican movement in Belgium, but if the Premier believes that his nation has unshakable confidence in Leopold, he is simply deluding himself. It is true that Leopold's decision to remain in the country and to share the trials of his people under the occupation increased his popularity. Many persons hoped that his presence would protect them from German terrorism. When it did not, when starvation, labor deportations, and the severity of the Gestapo were used to crush Belgium together with the other conquered nations, a great part of the country turned against the King and now desires his abdication.

The attitude of the government in exile toward the King has varied. At a meeting in Limoges, France, on May 30, 1940, two days after the surrender, the Cabinet placed the blame squarely on the King. In 1944 M. Pierlot, for the nation, expresses "full understanding" of the King's behavior. During the past year the government has sent many emissaries to the King seeking closer collaboration. But Leopold has always refused to give it, perhaps because he cannot forgive the government for its early accusations, perhaps because he wants to retain his independence. Whatever the existing relationship, his picture is displayed in every Belgian office in Washington and London.

Before the Cabinet left the country it obtained a unanimous vote of confidence from Parliament and the authority to remain in the war until Belgium had been fully liberated from the Germans. The government is the only one in exile which has not undergone changes or modifications; it is composed of Catholics, Liberals, and Socialists and represents 90 per cent of the voting population.

The Belgian Cabinet, like the Dutch, maintains close relations with the resistance. In 1942 the Minister of Justice, Antoine Delfosse, was smuggled back from France into Belgium, where he became chief of the underground. Later he joined his colleagues in London, and through him the Cabinet is able to direct the underground's activities. A committee for post-war planning has been set up which has elaborated a great many projects. The Socialist underground in Belgium has also outlined a post-war program seeking improvement of living conditions among the workers, woman's suffrage, and simplification of the social laws. Some of these suggestions have been accepted by the government, others rejected. The government is ready to report and ask approval of every action it has taken in exile; then to resign and permit the constitution of a new government.

Like the Belgian, the Norwegian government in exile has the authorization of the people. On April 19, 1940, the Storthing convened at Elverum and granted the Cabinet full authority to govern until the Storthing should again convene on free Norwegian soil. The Norwegian

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Cabinet, nevertheless, stamps every decision "provisional" as a sign of respect for the will of the people.

Contact with the underground is close. Its approval is sought before any law or decree is signed, and the Minister of Finance, M. Hackman, came to his post from the resistance movement. Norwegians are still distrustful of those Cabinet members who based their pre-war policy on the assumption that Norway would never be attacked, and many believe that Mr. Koht, who was the Foreign Minister at the time of the invasion, placed far too much reliance on Norway's proclaimed neutrality. The ministers have indicated their willingness to resign as soon as they return to Oslo.

Detailed plans have been prepared for restoring normal life in Norway within a year after the liberation. As reported by the United Press on April 15, they were formulated in secret conferences with delegates from Norwegian industries, who shuttled back and forth between London and Norway. King Haakon, more popular than ever before, will return to Norway as soon as any part of the country has been liberated. Some 12,000 Norwegians who have been training in Sweden will take over police duties immediately. Newspapers will begin publication the second day after liberation. Fishing, whaling, and commerce will be quickly resumed. Sweden will furnish tools and steel for industrial reconstruction in accordance with a trade agreement already signed.

The position of the governments of Norway, the Netherlands, and Belgium has recently been strengthened by an agreement which they have signed with Great Britain and the United States concerning the control of civil affairs in those countries during the struggle for liberation. Norway has also signed a similar pact with Russia. The Norwegian Foreign Minister, Trygbe Lie, had the satisfaction of seeing his draft proposals serve as blueprint both for the agreements signed in London and for the Czechoslovak-Russian pact.

KEPT IN LIMBO

One great purpose motivates the Czechoslovaks in exile—the nullification of the Munich pact, which betrayed their nation. In July, 1940, Benes succeeded in gaining London's recognition of his government, and in that recognition was implicit rejection of the pact. In 1942 De Gaulle canceled France's signature. Since Mussolini's signature is no longer valid, Hitler's alone remains.

During the First World War Eduard Benes was in the forefront of the battle for democratic principles and for recognition of the sovereignty of the small nations of Southeastern Europe. Today he continues in the same course. But he knows that Czechoslovakia, facing a permanently hostile Germany, must stand with Russia. More than that, he believes that the mission of his small nation is to further, as far as moral action can, mutual understanding among the great powers and to neutralize any effort to separate Russia from the West.

No abyss exists between Benes's government in London and the people of Czechoslovakia. Many observers believe, in fact, that Benes has the support of 90 per cent of his people and that the bewilderment and disappointment which followed his resignation have completely disappeared. Nor do the complicated relations between Czechs and Slovaks limit his authority. Slovakia became an "independent" state under Hitler. Benes understands that the Slovak people were not responsible—only some separatist leaders—and that anti-Slovak action would undermine the unity of the Czechoslovak nation.

The Slovak people agree. In 1943 the Slovak underground, in what is known as the Bratislava Memorandum, declared that the "Czechoslovak government in London is the only legal government of our nation." Five Slovaks are on Benes's council. Many of the diplomatic representatives of Czechoslovakia in the capitals of the Allied nations are Slovaks. Ambassador Hurban in Washington is one. Three Slovak brigades now serving with the Red Army take orders from the Czechoslovak embassy in Moscow.

The Czechoslovak program for the post-war world is generally considered one of the best yet formulated by an exiled government. It seeks a more democratic economy and a decentralized administration for Czechs, Slovaks, and Ruthenians. An agreement placing Czechoslovak territory under the Soviet military command as it is liberated by Russian armies, but providing that a Czech administration shall take over when the area is no longer a battle zone, was recently announced by the government in London.

Through the heroism of the resistance, France has regained its national honor. In Algiers under the leadership of General de Gaulle, the Committee of National Liberation, which recently renamed itself the Provisional Government, is planning a new France, which can provide inspiration for the democratic reconstruction of all Europe.

Unfortunately, not all French exiles are sharing in the revival of the great French tradition. Many liberal leaders, like Henri Laugier, Jacques Maritain, Emile Buré, Pierre Cot, Paul Rivet, and Henri Forcillon, whose untimely death robbed France of one of its wisest patriots, have served the cause of French liberation bravely and effectively. But others have proved poor representatives of the new France. A certain decadent analytical spirit has pervaded their writings, and Bonapartism has been stronger than the impulse of the French Revolution. When you read Henri de Kerillis, you are faced with the same dilemma which tortured France between the two wars: fascism or anti-fascism, democracy or totalitarianism, Franco or Stalin, Giraud or De Gaulle. When Pertinax discusses the small nations of the Balkans, par-

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ticularly the Mihailovich-Tito issue, he supports the rulers, not the people. He follows the same line as Alexis Leger, former Permanent Secretary of the French Foreign Office, who for a decade before the war bolstered the dictatorial governments of Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Greece. Many French people regret that Leger's influence should be so strong in Washington today.

But French underground leaders continue to arrive in Algiers. The Fourth Republic is taking shape. Though De Gaulle is still fighting for his formal recognition, it seems fairly certain now that liberated France will be governed, at least provisionally, by the committee of National Liberation and the underground, in cooperation with the Allied Military Government. The forces of democratic France are united in Algiers. The Frenchmen who look to the past cannot obscure the clear design of that unity—a unity around which the new Europe aspires to be rebuilt.

[*In Part II of this article, to appear next week, Mr. Raditsa will discuss the Yugoslav, Greek, and Polish governments in exile and the free movements.*]

When War Contracts End

BY KARL KEYERLEBER

NEARLY three months have passed since Senators Murray and George introduced a joint bill setting up machinery to facilitate the settlement of canceled war contracts and the reconversion of industry. It is two months since the Baruch-Hancock report stressed the importance of acting promptly. Yet we still lack legislation which will assure not only an orderly return to the production of civilian goods after the war but the effective harnessing of our industrial power to the demands of the coming invasion.

The problem is not one for tomorrow but for today. Already government agencies have canceled fifteen billion dollars' worth of war orders—about three times the dollar value of all contracts settled after victory was won in the last war. Slow settlements have impeded war production. They have tied up materials and factories. Legislation to simplify procedure, to unify policy, and to assure prompt payment is needed urgently.

The International Harvester Company, operating a government-owned plant in Bettendorf, Iowa, lost a $217,000,000 tank contract last year after only thirteen tanks had been turned out. It took three months to transform the plant into a producer of prime movers to haul heavy cannon, which the army now needs more than tanks. The paper work of the settlement is taking much longer; more than a year after cancelation it is still unfinished.

Harvester is a $500,000,000 concern, and the delay did not seriously interfere with its other war work. Less fortunate was the Dover Stamping and Manufacturing Company of Cambridge, Massachusetts, which also had a contract canceled last year—one for war-head containers for torpedoes. According to the company's president, J. Whitney Bowen, testifying before Senator Murray's subcommittee on contract termination, "between the time the contract was canceled and the time of the partial payment of $93,798 in July, five months had elapsed, and during that time we had a factory ready and willing and anxious to produce war products but we were unable to do so."

The Hazeltine Electronics Company of New York had a $5,500,000 contract for Radar equipment which was terminated by the navy. The settlement took more than a year, and for much of that period scarce materials needed elsewhere by the war program were frozen tight in the warehouses of Hazeltine suppliers.

The settlement of a canceled war contract as conducted at present is a tremendous accounting job. International Harvester has a hundred employees devoting their full time to it. An executive of a big Detroit corporation told me that one division of his firm had thirty-two persons working on it full time and sixty-four part time. In this company's plants work is going forward on 40,000 separate government contracts. The man with whom I talked looks forward gloomily to the time when his entire office staff will be occupied with settling and auditing the claims of thousands of subcontractors.

One contractor is carefully preserving a vault full of time cards—millions of them—against the day when some federal auditor may want to check on the number of workers engaged on a terminated contract. Another man has a warehouse full of old packing cases. Technically they are government property, and the law is specific: government property may not be disposed of until all the proper forms have been filled out.

Cancelations have been running at the rate of $1,500,000 a month, and unsettled claims are piling up. One Cleveland contractor still hasn't got his money for a claim presented in November, 1942, for a contract that was canceled by the Maritime Commission. It is obvious that new methods are needed to speed up the process. The old structure of multiple government checks and

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audits must be overhauled, and it is for Congress to say how it is to be done.

The George-Murray bill passed by the Senate and now awaiting action by the House creates an office of contract settlement headed by a $12,000-a-year director and a nine-man advisory board of government officials, including the Attorney General and the Secretaries of War, the Navy, and the Treasury. The director and the board are charged with coordinating policy, but terminations are left in the hands of the procurement agencies which let the contracts. In other words, the bill is designed to secure a uniform policy but to decentralize the handling of claims in order to avoid a logjam in some Washington filing cabinet. The General Accounting Office may not review settlements except for fraud.

One section of the bill provides for the prompt removal of materials. Before factories can turn to new war work or civilian manufacture, they must be cleared of government machinery, work in process, and stocks of parts and materials. If the government does not provide for removal of such stuff in sixty days, the contractor may do so. Other sections deal with advance payment and interim financing to keep companies liquid. Contractors may receive up to 90 per cent of their claim without waiting for a final settlement. Some concerns, notably in the aircraft industry, have so much working capital tied up in inventory that they would be pinched by any delay.

A provision for over-all settlement permits a company which has many contracts canceled to file a claim covering all of them, instead of preparing individual claims. This reduces accounting and bookkeeping. Informal contracts are authorized to assure payment to a contractor who to save time loaded himself up with parts and materials before he got a contract. The requirement of thirty days' advance notice of cancelation, not always possible, is to prevent such a situation as that which occurred at Lowell, Massachusetts, last November when an ordnance plant employing 5,700 persons was shut down. Workers were told on a Saturday afternoon that it was their last day on the job. Neither they nor the company had a chance to plan for termination day. Provision is made for court appeal and umpires to rule on disputed claims through an expansion of the Court of Claims.

The bill cuts through red tape and sacrifices traditional government safeguards against inflated charges because of the pressing necessity for speed. Overpayments may occasionally be obtained by avaricious contractors. In this connection I cannot do better than quote the words of Colonel Bryan Houston, tough chief of the army's contract-termination branch. Speaking before a group of automobile executives, he said: "You are going to pay some two hundred billion dollars for this war. Your children and your grandchildren will be paying on it. The difference between the most penurious, hard-fisted, careful, ruinously slow settlement which could be made of these terminations and the most liberal which could be made won't amount to five hundred million dollars. It is very poor poker playing, dice shooting, or business, to gamble a two-hundred-billion-dollar peace against a quarter of one per cent."

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE VAN SWERINGEN BROTHERS, astute wielders of vast financial power through the manipulation of other people's money, are at present endeavoring to teach an important group of security holders in the Allegheny Corporation, the key holding company in the Van Sweringen railroad empire, that a bond, even when equipped with a fancy title, need not carry with it the protective safeguards implied by its name.—PETER HELMOOP NOYES, *May 2, 1934.*

IN BERLIN ARE three Americans representing American firms which are helping Germany to build up the best air fleet in Europe. It is an open secret in foreign official quarters in Berlin that the Hitler regime has already ordered and received from British and American companies special parts for the making of 2,500 modern bombing and fighting planes. The companies supplying these parts are Pratt and Whitney, Curtiss-Wright, and Douglas Aircraft in the United States, and the firms of Vickers and of Armstrong, Sidley in England.—*May 9, 1934.*

DEAR READERS of *The Nation:* On the twenty-seventh day of this July I will begin my nineteenth year in durance vile for a crime that I was acquitted of on the twenty-fourth day of last May. With the verdict of "Not Guilty" still ringing in my ears, the judge admonished all to remain seated while the bailiff snapped the handcuffs on me and speeded me back to San Quentin Prison in less than one hour—for the rest of my natural life. That is Democratic Capitalist Class Justice—with a vengeance. . . . Sincerely, TOM MOONEY (31921). (ADVT.)—*May 16, 1934.*

THE DOLLFUSS GOVERNMENT in all private and public pronouncements continues to speak of the "Socialist revolution" in February. The Nazis a year ago "saved" Germany from the "Marxist" danger; the Austrians similarly put all the blame for the February bloodshed on the Socialists. This lie should be spiked once for all. . . . The Austrian Socialists were about as aggressive as the Belgians were in 1914.—JOHN GUNTHER, *May 16, 1934.*

DURING THE FEVERISH DAYS when leaders of the steel industry were discussing the proposed code of fair competition prior to its submission to the NRA, one of the lesser rulers asked one of the greater ones to explain a certain obscure provision. The latter replied without a moment's hesitation: "There is no mystery about this code. It just means that the industry is going to be run as it has always been run, only more so." The last three words furnish the key to an understanding of the steel code.—*May 23, 1934.*

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Mexico's War-Time Boom

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

IN TEN years Mexico has changed impressively. The capital has lost nothing of its charm. Mexicans have too profound a sense of fitness to allow material progress to affect the beauty of their cities. The capital has spread outward into new suburbs. The old buildings have not been affronted by the appearance of new, modern structures rising defiantly in their faces. There is no square whose trees confront the stare of wide modern windows. But in the new developments rebuilding can be carried on without hesitation, and it is being carried on very rapidly indeed. New streets are opened from one week to the next. New houses appear practically overnight. Some of them are handsome villas, others homes for workers. Even in the most modest of them either the architect or the tenant has applied a touch of good taste.

The capital grows. It must grow in order to absorb the rapidly increasing population. According to a report issued by the Departamento Central (the office of the Mayor), published while I was there, Mexico City has 2,200,000 inhabitants. It was a surprising figure to me. Since my stay in Mexico in 1931-33 the population has almost doubled. And not only the capital has grown. Acapulco has been transformed from a beach with a few hotels and a few modest houses into a seaside resort that can compete with any in the world. Here too a fever of construction is evident. People pay any price for land. Where a square meter of land formerly brought two pesos, it is now sold for fifty. In Cuernavaca and Taxco the hotels cannot handle the influx of visitors. In order to spend a week-end there, reservations must be made two weeks ahead. As always Americans frequent these places of recreation, but in some of them Mexicans are now more numerous than foreigners.

Americans with their dollars continue to pour into Mexico, but the time when $5 a day would provide the life of a potentate is over. As the supply of money swells, so do the prices, though they have not hampered trade. Any article finds a buyer. French decorators now in Mexico told me that they could not fill the many calls for their services. If certain branches of production have been limited, it is only because of a lack of raw materials. Tailors complain that recently they have not been able to get English woolens. Certain articles which have practically disappeared from American markets—nylon stockings, French perfumes, wines of a certain vintage—are rare in Mexico too. But if anyone has any of these goods to offer, he can be certain that people will jump to take them off his hands. He can even advertise in the papers the items he has for sale and ask as high a price as he wishes. Mexico has no rationing system and no price control. Fortunes are made quickly. "The difficulty," said a Mexican friend of mine who is fighting against the evils of this rapid enrichment, "is not in becoming a millionaire in a month. The difficulty is to keep oneself from becoming a millionaire in twenty-four hours."

With all these manifestations of external prosperity, it is natural that people who have not been in Mexico for some years and have visited there in recent months return with fantastic tales about the immense progress of the country. Undoubtedly there is progress, but one must distinguish between solid, lasting prosperity and a war boom.

A certain number of important industrial enterprises have been created. Mexico follows the general trend in Latin America toward increased industrialization. The most important of these new enterprises is the iron and steel company Altos Hornos de México, which has a working capital of sixty million pesos. It will begin to run at full capacity within a year. It is one of the industries that will certainly remain after the war. Fundición de Monterrey, an already existing heavy-industry plant, is being expanded. Certain cement factories are expanding too, and new ones are being built. Sometime in the future Mexico may well be able to export cement. Other factories have been established in connection with heavy industry. There is one, for instance, for the production of tin cans. The chemical industries, particularly the manufacture of drugs, have received great impetus in recent years.

Much more could have been done in this last field. A project was developed at one time to take advantage of the break with the Axis to end forever German control of the chemical industry; it is well known that the German chemical combine was the spearhead of German penetration in Latin America. The authors of the project believed that with the help of North American techniques and machinery a real Mexican chemical industry could be built which would dislodge the Germans entirely and provide a pattern for similar action throughout Latin America. The Mexican group had money to work with. They were even ready to accept American capital so long as it did not attempt to capture a majority of the shares. But there was little understanding of the project in the United States, and the resolute opposition of certain official departments has frustrated the plan.

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True, some small drug plants were created, but not on the scale originally conceived.

Negotiations are on the way for building a cellulose industry in Jalisco and a plant for producing artificial silk. In other states similar industrial activity is noticeable. Altos Hornos is promoting the establishment of some small shipyards. A number of industries have been born under the impulse of the boom, as, for instance, a factory to turn out calculating machines. No one expects them to lead an easy life once the war is over.

The tendency toward serious industrialization, toward the creation of actual, positive wealth in Mexico, is offset by a tempest of war-time speculation. This fever is obvious in commercial as well as financial fields. Mexico is selling products to the United States and Central America which no one believed would ever be exported. On a far greater scale than any other is the export of liquor—a kind of "gin," a kind of "vodka," a kind of "tequila," which resembles the original only in name. To a liter of alcohol a few drops of essence are added, and there is a bottle of gin. So far, the Americans seem to have had little hesitation in drinking the stuff. A single railroad carload of such liquor brings a profit of 80,000 pesos. Great fortunes have been amassed in this trade, and since the mood is to spend, an impression of vast prosperity is created. Obviously, that kind of prosperity is ephemeral.

Curious things have been exported from Mexico in the last years. In 1943, for instance, rosaries were shipped to the value of 2,000,000 pesos, and great quantities of religious ornaments as well. That shows how active the Catholic church has become in recent years. Some of these boom exports have had serious effects on the Mexican population. For a certain time the unrestricted export of *guarache* made shoe leather very difficult to obtain in Mexico, and the Indian peasants had to go without sandals. In 1943 a quantity of *pipas*—squash seed—was shipped out of the country in a frenzy of exportation, depriving the Indians of one of their favorite delicacies and an important source of oil and vitamins.

If such exports have injured Mexico, they have not helped the United States. On the other hand, the exportation of metals and man-power has been a great contribution to the American war effort. Nearly 100,000 Mexicans have come into the United States to work. They would have come in greater numbers if there had not been so many complaints about their treatment here. These complaints have been the subject of heated discussion in Mexico. Only the other day (May 16) the Committee on Foreign Relations in the Mexican Senate heard a vigorous speech by Senator Ramiro Tamez asking for the establishment of a special investigating commission. Tamez described with indignation the way Mexican workers have been exploited in the United States. They have enjoyed none of the social services that American workers enjoy, and they are paid wages far below those of United States citizens. Tamez added that the complaints have come not only from workers in Texas, where discrimination is traditional, but from other states as well. It is a serious affair, and one which gravely affects the relations between the two countries.

The widely circulated weekly *Mañana* gives us an idea of how Mexicans feel about this subject. "The Nazis in Texas," it said, "are not political partners of the Führer of Germany, but they are slaves of the same prejudices and superstitions. Mexicans have become the victims of the theory that blond hair and blue eyes denote racial superiority."

On the subject of the rise in prices many contradictory figures have been circulated. A high official in the Mexican Department of Finance told me that 180 per cent would be a fair average for the past year. Prices have risen for various reasons. First, monetary inflation. The inflation started in 1936, when General Cárdenas distributed the rich cotton lands in La Laguna. The government found it necessary to make large loans at low rates of interest to the peasants in order that they might work the land they had been given. This new money in circulation forced prices up. But the chief cause of the inflation lies in the tremendous flow of American capital into Mexico. No one knows exactly how much American money fled across the border between December, 1942, and June, 1943, in order to escape taxation. But the monetary reserve of Mexico quadrupled. The inflation became really dangerous.

In order to counteract this process, several measures have recently been taken. Summarizing them briefly:

1. The government of Mexico has begun to import corn, wheat, and butter. That will mean 3,000,000 pesos withdrawn from circulation. Simultaneously with the increased imports, exports are being cut down. While in Mexico I had occasion to see a letter from the Secretary of Finance, Eduardo Suárez, to the governors of the different states outlining this new policy. "No effort," said Secretary Suárez, "must be spared to assure the equilibrium between supply and demand as an essential condition for stabilizing prices, for wiping out the black market, and for ending speculation. To the same end, the government has decided to increase the production of essential articles, especially food, to increase imports,

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and to restrict exports to the limit, sending out of Mexico only the surplus above what the people need."

2. A rise in taxes, especially income taxes. That will force the withdrawal from circulation of some 2,000,000 pesos in 1944.

3. A bond sale by the Nacional Financiera, a government-controlled institution, also designed to withdraw money from circulation.

These, of course, are classic methods, and no one pretends that anything new has been invented.

The Nacional Financiera will utilize established commercial techniques, that is to say, it will compete with private business in many fields in an effort to stabilize the economic development of the country and to prevent the concentration of wealth in the hands of a very few private interests. It means a departure from the old policy of holding prices down by decree. In Mexico there is a profound belief that such decrees result in nothing but black markets.

Mexico's double task in the economic field is to prevent its rapid prosperity from running into the same kind of crisis that shook the United States in 1929 and to concentrate upon those enterprises built on solid ground, not for the enrichment of a few but for the benefit of the nation. The trend toward industrialization is already rendering obsolete all the talk about "backward" countries on which big business has relied so comfortably, confounding inter-Americanism with exploitation. Like other Latin American countries Mexico will emerge from the war with its economic structure changed. It will depend very much on the wisdom of the United States whether the friendship of today continues to inspire the trade relations of tomorrow, or whether it is replaced by a sordid kind of economic warfare. I always remember what President Alfonso Lopez of Colombia once told me: "Collaboration between the United States and Latin America means for many of our friends in Washington and New York that we should go on forever hunting through the jungle for materials to make cosmetics for American ladies, but should never dare develop any enterprise that might collide with the interests of American business."

[*This is the second of a series of articles that Mr. del Vayo, who has recently returned from a month's visit in Mexico, is writing on current Mexican problems. The first was printed two weeks ago; the third, on the Mexican army, will appear in an early issue.*]

In the Wind

A FRIEND OF OURS reports a distressing sign of intellectual decay among the youth. Chalked on a sidewalk, along with the usual urogenital monosyllables, he saw these words: "Snap, Crackle, Pop."

PUBLISHERS' WEEKLY reports that a reputable New York bookseller has been forbidden to mail out his current catalogue unless he deletes one-line entries of "Candide," "The Well of Loneliness," and Balzac's "Droll Stories." It seems that the Post Office has a list of unprintable titles. We called up the New York Postmaster on that one. The man to whom we were referred was not familiar with any of the books mentioned, but he said yes, there is such a list, and he is in charge of enforcing it. "Candide" has been on the list since 1931, "The Well of Loneliness" since 1933, and "Droll Stories" since 1927. Vincent Miles, Post Office solicitor in Washington, decides what books are unmentionable.

LILLIAN SMITH, author of "Strange Fruit," was recently invited to address the Book Forum of Columbia, South Carolina, but the invitation was withdrawn after a flurry of protests from other organizations. The secretary of the Fortnightly Club, for example, wrote to the chairman of the Forum thus: "The problem of racial adjustment is to us so serious that we are impelled to protest against the discussion of it by Miss Smith. The theme of her book seems to us to be one that better not be tossed about at present. . . . In case she does come may we earnestly ask that she speak on the Orient and not on the Negro problem at all."

OUR GUILELESS CONTEMPORARY, the *Saturday Review of Literature*, says that Eric Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, "wants to consolidate the gains of the New Deal." We looked up "consolidate" in the dictionary, and it doesn't mean that at all.

ON APRIL 15 THIS COLUMN reported that Catholics in the diocese of Connecticut were not allowed to have anything to do with Russian War Relief. A few days later Mrs. B. D. Burhoe, secretary of the interfaith committee of Russian War Relief, phoned us and said Connecticut's Catholics had been most generous and cooperative and would we publish an official denial of the item. We said we would be glad to. The denial came last week. Here it is: "Dear Mrs. Burhoe: I am pleased to inform you that there is no truth in the statement which you tell me appeared in *The Nation* of April 15, 1944. Catholics of the diocese of Hartford are entirely free to participate in Russian War Relief. I have never asked my people to disregard an appeal for charity from any source. With all good wishes, I am sincerely yours, Maurice F. McAuliffe, Bishop of Hartford."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Nazi orders and decrees in Poland are now signed with officials' titles but not their names.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*]

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The Tasks Ahead in France

BY JULES MOCH

II

IN A previous article I discussed the two tasks which will be the first responsibility of the government of liberated France—the repatriation of the millions of persons who have been driven from their homes and the provision of food for a large percentage of the population. The next thing to be done will be to find jobs for the returning men, at least for all those who do not live on the land. Where are they going to go to work? In their old factories? In most cases only the walls of the factories will be standing. Or if the buildings have escaped destruction, it will be found that the machinery has been removed, probably to Central Europe. Or if the machinery is intact, there will be no power to turn the wheels, no raw materials to feed it. In former highly industrialized regions large numbers of skilled operatives will be unable to find work. At the same time in other regions there may be a shortage of labor—men will be needed to repair highways and railroads, to build houses, to quarry stone, to make cement and bricks.

Since it would not be right to allow men to remain idle because their special skills cannot be utilized when labor is needed in other fields, it will be necessary for the government to undertake some kind of compulsory allocation of man-power. To many this will seem like an inhuman proposal. They will ask if heavy labor, perhaps in another part of the country, is going to be required of men who are exhausted by privations and have been separated from their families for years. The weight of this argument should not be underestimated. On the other hand, the government will be obligated to restore the industries on which the country's economic life depends—namely, transportation, shipping, power, coal mining, and building.

Its ability to do so will depend in large part on its adoption of a trade-union and wage policy that conforms to the wishes of the workers. I expect the trade unions to offer no obstacles. Purged of their traitors, they will be reconstituted with the same full liberty that was formerly theirs and will play a major role in the republic of the future. As to wages, Vichy and the German conquerors have systematically lowered the purchasing power of wages in order to force workers into the theoretically more productive German industries. Since 1939 wages have risen 50 per cent, while prices on the official market have tripled and on the black market multiplied ten times. Monetary considerations will make it impossible to restore the purchasing power of wages to 1939 levels—such action, moreover, would have no point owing to the scarcity of consumers' goods—but a general, immediate, and substantial rise must be effected. The problem is complicated by the necessity of maintaining a proper relation between buying power and the amount of goods available. To meet this condition two solutions have been suggested. One is to revise wage scales upward as larger amounts of rationed foods become available; the other is to pay wages partly in food or in ration tickets.

What is to be the length of the work week in liberated France? After 1936 many social-welfare measures were introduced in France, among them the law for a forty-hour week. This law was modified to strengthen our war production, but it has never been abrogated. Similarly, the law that entitles every salaried worker in France to two weeks' vacation with pay after one year of service remains on the statutes. Obviously, after the liberation, maximum production will be required in the essential industries. In these industries, therefore, hours must be lengthened. The unions themselves do not dispute it.

But while there is complete agreement about the object to be attained, people are divided about the method to be used. One school of thought holds that the 1936 law must stand; that in the interest of the international working class France must remain the champion of the forty-hour week. It proposes, therefore, that industries be divided into two classes: those essential to reconstruction, in which overtime will be paid automatically, and those not essential, in which overtime will be permitted only under the circumstances specifically cited in the law of 1936 and after careful investigation as to its necessity. A second school of thought would apply the forty-hour law only in non-essential industries and establish a longer work week for essential industries. The two schools are united in insisting that any modification of the forty-hour law must be obtained by legislative procedure.

This debate is relatively unimportant. What is important is the complete unanimity of opinion on the need for a longer work week to speed the reconstruction of the country. Accordingly, both the National Committee and the Assembly are working on a legislative program that will legalize the necessary action.

In Algiers today the government is proceeding on the principle that it has not the right to institute any pro-

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found changes in the structure of the French state. Only the French people, it holds, have that right. Only a Constituent Assembly, duly elected by universal suffrage, can set the French house in order. But some political decisions cannot wait on the repatriation of prisoners and deportees, on the preparation of ballots, on the presentation of issues in campaign speeches. And for that reason the following compromise has been reached in Algiers: the present provisional government shall have the right to initiate certain far-reaching reforms if no other solution of the particular problem is immediately possible; such measures to be enacted only with the full consent of the Consultative Assembly, the present representative body of the French people.

The industrial reconstruction of France is one of the problems that cannot await the action of a Constituent Assembly. Factories must start operation at once to supply the things the people need. But under whose ownership and direction? To reestablish the status quo ante would mean in many cases to return the factories to men who collaborated with the enemy. Yet to decide that the nation should run its key industries itself would introduce a profound change in the nature of our regime. So far the government has arrived at no concrete proposal. However, in a speech delivered before the Assembly on March 18, 1944, General De Gaulle said: "The French democracy must insure to everyone the right to work and guarantee the dignity and security of all through an economic system planned with a view to developing our national resources and not to furthering private interests. In this system the great sources of national wealth will belong to the nation, and the direction and control of this wealth by the state will be undertaken with the assistance of workers and entrepreneurs." In other words, De Gaulle plans a French "New Deal" such as was first outlined by Léon Blum in 1936.

It is clear that the head of the government is not in principle opposed to profound changes in the economic structure of the country. Indeed, many men who yesterday defended liberal capitalism admit today the failure of the system and seek economic regeneration through democratic socialism, even though they may not admit to themselves that they are thinking as socialists. The Assembly has been thinking along those lines, and the economic program it has worked out is the result. At the end of last year its Commission of Economic Affairs, composed of men of diverse political convictions, unanimously adopted the following principles, as proposed by a Socialist member:

1. The corporate system of craft and professional organization instituted by Vichy must be abolished.

2. Complete freedom of operation cannot be granted to all industries on the day of liberation.

3. Enemy holdings in French industries must be confiscated by the state.

Last Chance!

Two years of betraying the people on every important issue which has arisen should have ruined the hope of a democratic victory in this war. But the Allies have greater luck than they deserve. In the invasion a tremendous opportunity is still open to them. The great day approaching is, from any point of view, a momentous human event; hundreds of millions of men all over the earth are placing their hope in it. Its success will raise once more the spirits of those who have been disheartened by the dealings with Darlan, by the recognition of Badoglio, by the continued appeasement of Franco. Here is the eleventh hour, when an end can be put to the policy of fighting fascism in alliance with fascists. Here is the last chance to win the political war.

4. Certain industries must be operated by the government in the common interest.

5. Certain others may be operated by private interests under strict government control.

6. The rest may operate free of all government interference.

Some months later "a broad program of government action and national reconstruction" embodying substantially these proposals was submitted to the Assembly by the Socialist delegation—fifteen of the eighty members. A large number of delegates from metropolitan France, after giving it careful study, declared that it represented the aspirations of the Resistance and that they would support it. The final text has been signed by about fifty members of the Assembly and is thus assured of majority support when it comes up for discussion again. The eight Communist members have not yet pledged definite support, though they agree with the plan in principle.

The original text proposed the "nationalization of economic, financial, and commercial enterprises essential to the life of the nation." In the final draft the word "socialization" was substituted for "nationalization" on the demand of the Resistance delegates, who wanted their position clearly defined. The signatories include a Dominican monk, an army officer in active service, half a dozen Radicals, an equal number of men who might be classed as conservative, six or more Social Catholics, and four or five progressives with no party affiliation. The others have never taken any stand on political or economic questions. Not a single Marxist is among them.

These men have seen the moral and material collapse of the old economic structure. They have seen its leaders collaborating with the enemy while the French workers defied the Laval "levy" and took to the *maquis* to avoid contributing to the German war effort. They recognize that the events of the last few years have demonstrated

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the bankruptcy of the business high bourgeoisie and the soundness of the working class. The lessons of Russia's national planning have not been lost on them. Too attached to democratic and parliamentary forms of government to be won over to communism, they have chosen the course long ago pointed out to them by democratic Socialists.

De Gaulle once said that France had been shaken to its depths by its recent sufferings. "But," he added, "the deeper the soil is worked, the richer the harvest."

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

ON THE first day of war, textile goods of every kind, including clothing, were rationed in Germany. Since then, for four and a half years, no one has been able to buy enough to replace what wore out. Ten months ago, in August, 1943, all ration points for textile goods were canceled, and their sale, except to victims of air raids, was stopped for the duration.

While people's closets were being thinned out by the impossibility of replacing worn articles, the process was hastened by insistent new demands. In the winter of 1941 a murderous cold wave caught the army in Russia unprepared, and Dr. Goebbels, in desperation, cried out for help from private individuals. Every household was put under strong pressure to contribute all the warm bedding, blankets, overcoats, and suits that it could possibly spare. A year later a similar collection, scarcely less urgent, was organized by Dr. Ley for the benefit of the arms workers. After that, private stocks were considered exhausted. Even the traditional annual appeal for the "Winter Aid" was omitted in 1943.

But this May the situation was such that another attempt was made to gather a few leavings from a field already raked clean. The appeal was signed this time by an unknown Franz Heck who called himself "commissioner for the collection and utilization of salvage and Reich delegate of the Nazi Party." After boasting of the government's achievements in providing clothing—"no soldier at the front and no arms worker has to go in rags"—the notice called on people to offer up their last possessions.

The campaign is proceeding under the slogan "The Nation Needs Textiles." Money prizes are offered for good ideas. The radio instructs collectors on how to get results:

> Suppose Frau Mayer visits Frau Lehman to ask her to give something for the textile collection. Frau Lehman may refuse, not without some superficial justification, on the ground that she has nothing left to give. Generally it will be enough for Frau Mayer to ask Frau Lehman to look and see. Some discarded garment is sure to be found. Old socks and ties may be discovered in forgotten suitcases. Hunting for them will be fun.

The powerful *Schwarze Korps,* organ of the powerful Himmler, on April 20 sharply rebuked fathers who forbid their minor sons in uniform to marry because they are too young. On the contrary, said the S. S. paper, German boys should marry some time before they go to the front (as a rule they go when they are eighteen). After the last war 1,500,000 girls remained unmarried and had no children. If they had had a chance to bear two children apiece, 3,000,000 German babies would have been brought into the world, half of whom would have been males. As a result, at the outbreak of the Second World War Germany would have had 1,500,000 more soldiers, 100 divisions. With these it would long ago have brought the war to a victorious close.

This time, the *Schwarze Korps* declared, there must be no such waste of possible resources. Young men today must discharge their duty before they go to the front, and girls must be made productive.

At this point the paper made an arresting statement: "Then, even if the present war is lost, tomorrow's war can be won by the children of today's soldiers." A great deal of nonsense has been published in this country about Germany's secret preparations for a third world war. The sentence quoted is, so far as this writer knows, the first authoritative utterance on the subject.

A Swiss paper, the *Arbeiter Zeitung* of Schaffhausen, on May 6 printed a few anecdotes which, in the opinion of the contributor, revealed how people act and feel in the Reich today.

A German living in Switzerland returned to Munich, his former home, and met some old friends in a restaurant. He asked them what they thought of Germany's chances of winning the war. They answered with one voice, "'We shall win." Walking home some hours later with one of the company, a former schoolmate, the man asked the same question again. Now the answer was: "What do you mean? We lost the war long ago. Germany is doomed. Not one stone is being left on another in our cities. How can we dream of winning?"

A well-dressed woman stood next to an old workman during an air raid. After a while she said grimly, "You see, the British have no more planes. These are the last ones they have. We alone have great numbers of airplanes left." The workman, after a second's surprise, understood her and joined in the tune.

A foreign worker complained to a German colleague about the constant air attacks, which prevented him from sleeping. "Nobody can stand this long," he said. The German answered, "Man, be hard! Become harder! Eat concrete; then you'll become hard. Germany needs hard men, and concrete is wonderful to make things hard."

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Soviet Life—a Close-up

MY LIVES IN RUSSIA. By Markoosha Fischer. Harper and Brothers. $2.75.

AT A time when the most wary of us tend, perhaps in self-defense, to think of the people of the world not as minute particulars of flesh and blood but as units in the round numbers of populations, army divisions, and casualty lists, it is good to read such a book as "My Lives in Russia," which takes us behind the giant scenes of the world's most imposing dictatorship and acquaints us intimately with the men, women, and children who live in it.

Mrs. Fischer is herself a Russian and was committed early to the revolution. She left her native land in 1915 vowing never to set foot on Russian soil as long as czarism ruled. She did not return until 1922, but from 1917 on she was associated, as secretary and translator in the several languages she had acquired, with representatives of the Soviet regime in various countries. After 1922 she lived and worked abroad for another period of years, but from 1927 to 1939 she lived steadily in Russia. She was the wife of a foreign correspondent, but as a Russian and an enthusiastic supporter of the Bolshevik regime she participated fully in Soviet life. The fact that she had two children growing up made her involvement all the more complete.

We see the mighty events of those twelve years—collectivization, the drive on the kulak, the five-year plans, the great purge, the preparations for war—not merely as historical facts and political issues but as the day-by-day and year-by-year experience of a Russian mother, of her neighbors and friends, of her children and their companions.

When Mrs. Fischer returned to Russia in 1927 she was conscious of a pressure toward conformity in every phase of life which had not existed in 1922. As late as 1928, however, *Pravda* often printed a supplement called The Oppositionists' Page, and the Russian passion for discussion still had scope. But the pressure grew. With the drive on the kulak the government loosed a new class war, and with the First Five-Year Plan came the prohibition of all criticism. Living conditions were difficult, but life was exciting nevertheless. Mrs. Fischer pictures very vividly the energy and pride of the Russians and their faith in the future, which made all present hardships bearable. She also makes us aware of the strains imposed by industrialization in a backward country where, so to speak, the skills for building the house had to be learned in the course of building it. The tendency to rely more and more on arbitrary methods must be seen in this context, just as the excesses of informing cannot be separated from the weariness and tension of a population hard driven and competing for the bare necessities of life.

Her account is simple and direct, and because it is devoid of both art and artlessness it has the impact of unvarnished truth. It is also a dramatic story, of which the inner tension is supplied by the interplay between the author's deep commitment to the Soviet revolution and her gradual, unwilling disillusionment with the government which ruled, ever more absolutely, in its name. She approved of collectivization; she could not justify the stupidities and cruelty—they are connected—with which it was accompanied. She shared the people's pride in the Five-Year Plan; she could not reconcile herself to the tragedy and corruption that flowed from the prohibition of criticism and the license conferred on all and sundry to become informers. She was thrilled by the promise of the Soviet constitution; she was horrified by the anti-abortion law which was decreed almost simultaneously despite universal opposition, and brutally enforced. She loathed fascism and fascists; but she knew that the friends and neighbors who were taken away in the night were not fascists, and the regime provided her with no real evidence that the Old Bolsheviks were fascists either.

Mrs. Fischer left Russia in 1939 when she finally became convinced that the revolution had been taken over by a dictator who had set his course toward absolute power, nationalism, and even empire. But she is frank to say that the developments which led to her own disillusionment did not shake the loyalty of the Russian masses, that the purge, though it affected thousands, disturbed only a small minority of the population. And reading her book, one understands the reasons. They would be even clearer, I think, if Mrs. Fischer had included here another of her lives—her early years in the Russia of the czars.

Soviet loyalty was, in the first place, motivated not merely by demagogic promises but by very solid and elementary benefits received as the result of a genuine social revolution. To the peasant woman who had lost six children because she had not known how to take care of them, the regime, whatever its faults, was no less perfect than the seventh child which it had saved with its hospitals and clinics and was now educating. To the Jewish mother nothing the Soviet government did could be wrong because it had put an end to pogroms and made her children "as good as anyone else." Such loyalty is made of vital and enduring stuff. The Soviet people today, says Mrs. Fischer, are convinced that there are only two possibilities—the rule of the Soviet government, that is, Stalin, or that of landlords, factory owners, capitalist exploiters, German fascists, and Japanese generals. And their choice is unhesitating.

However unreal the alternatives may seem, one cannot condemn the choice. For it indicates that the loyalty of the Russian people is still to a large extent loyalty to a set of ideas rather than to any leader. If that is so, it holds at least the promise of a healthy future development.

"My Lives in Russia" will be called anti-Soviet by the professional Stalinists. It will be deplored by those who think that truth should have its closed seasons. But it is hardly a secret that Russia is a dictatorship—and in a sense Mrs. Fischer merely documents what we already knew. Certainly her account of the purge and its shattering effect on

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human lives and character will win no converts for dictatorship and police rule—which is epitomized for me in the senseless confrontation of a child who must be told that his father is a traitor and the mother who must make him believe it. But just as certainly Mrs. Fischer's book, because it is pro-human, will generate understanding and affection for the Russian people. And it is they, after all, who are our allies. Her book dispels the condescending view that "those poor devils" the Russians have neither the desire nor the capacity for the democratic way of life. Because she does not gloss over the bad aspects of Soviet life we believe her as a witness of the good—"human equality, economic progress without exploitation, education of the masses, social security, lack of racial discrimination." In this sense her book provides, I think, a basis for communication with the Russian people. And one cannot read Mrs. Fischer's account of their sealed existence without feeling that one hope of a democratic development in Soviet Russia lies in free association and exchange with the outside world.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Portrait of a King

CONTEMPORARY ITALY: ITS INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL ORIGINS. By Count Carlo Sforza. Translated by Drake and Denise De Kay. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.50.

THIS book is no formal analysis of the forces that have shaped the Italy of today. Rather, it picks out one or another element in the story that appeals to the author, without pretense of proportion. Its chapters are small essays, sometimes prose poems, on episodes in Italian history since the sixteenth century which the author has deeply studied or in which he has intimately participated. The earlier part of this study is stimulating reading for one who already knows his Italian history pretty well. But it is the latter portion, covering the past four decades, that packs a punch through the first-hand, sometimes gossipy contributions from the author's personal experience.

Count Sforza is today a member of the government—albeit with some formal reservations—of King Victor Emmanuel III. When he went from America to Italy a few months ago, he left with his publisher this manuscript, which amply explains his reported pledge of that time never to join a Cabinet under the present king or his son. The motive for his subsequent reversal of conviction is not implicit anywhere in this book.

Sforza is firmly convinced that Fascism would have been destroyed, virtually by a whiff of grapeshot, at the time of the "March on Rome" if Victor Emmanuel had signed the decree for martial law which Premier Facta twice timorously presented to him on instructions from his Cabinet. He says, "I am convinced that [the King] would have signed if an energetic Prime Minister had instructed him that it was his duty, as constitutional king, to sign." He quotes Margherita, the Queen Mother, to the effect that "Victor believes and obeys Elena and the Prime Minister in office, whoever he happens to be."

In support of this assertion Sforza mentions one occasion

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on which the King did obey a minister of his—Foreign Minister Sforza. Admiral Millo was believed to be hesitating as to whether to side with d'Annunzio in Fiume. Sforza sketched a letter for the King's signature reminding the Admiral of his soldier's oath of loyalty. "The King hesitated, quibbled: 'I'm willing to do anything you ask me, but if I am not listened to, if I am scoffed at, won't it be still worse?' " (P.S. He signed.)

Victor's cousin, the Duke of Aosta, was willing to become a pawn in Mussolini's intrigue because he "had contracted a bad attack of thronitis: for two years he did not leave me a moment's peace, trying to persuade me to have him appointed King of Poland, King of Hungary. . . . When I mentioned it to the King he used to mutter: "If it were only *that*. . . ."

When the documents which clearly implicated Mussolini as organizer of the assassination of Matteotti were presented to the King, he "stammered: 'I am not a judge; these things ought not to be told to me. . . .' He did not realize that at that precise moment, despite himself, he became an accomplice."

But there were other accomplices in the crimes of Fascism —some blind and well-intentioned, some alert and crafty. Immediately after the Matteotti murder "only in the embassies of the United States, France, and Great Britain was there any sympathy for Mussolini." As the "undeclared war" of the thirties approached the explosion point, "everyone in Europe was guilty of slackness and of lack of the moral courage to face reality. Everyone was guilty, the right as well as the left—the Tories, the Socialists, and the Communists. . . . But the main guilt in this situation of falsehood, of false prudence, of hypocrisy, of lies, in brave nations like France and England, is the guilt of the French Conservatives and the British Tories," especially because "they let themselves be hynotized by the so-called Bolshevik danger."

There is an acid picture of Sforza's interview with Blum, paralyzed in his policy toward Republican Spain by his fear of the reactionary "half of France." There is the episode of Sforza's interview with Premier Reynaud, a few days before the French collapse in 1940, interrupted by repeated private calls from "his mistress, Countess Hélène de Portes," and "Reynaud's frightened look and lavish excuses." There is Weygand's statement: "This collapse [the defeat of 1940] is sent by God." And here is recorded the offer of the French General Hunzinger, Pétain's emissary to secure armistice terms from Mussolini, to supply to the Fascists a list of the fifty thousand Italian "traitors," Italians resident in France who had volunteered as soldiers in the French army to fight the Germans. Even Mussolini's generals pretended not to understand the infamous offer.

Sforza's book is no connected narrative but rather a series of pin-point spotlights on Italian and European history. It is a panorama of futility. Perhaps its sad moral may be summed up in the author's assertion that "if, during the long Fascist period, there had been one man with even one-quarter of Benes's vision and strength of will in power in London or Paris, the Fascist bluff would have collapsed and peace would have been saved."

HIRAM MOTHERWELL

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A Case of Heart Failure

HEART OF EUROPE! AN ANTHOLOGY OF CREATIVE WRITING IN EUROPE, 1920-1940. Edited by Klaus Mann and Hermann Kesten. With an Introduction by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. L. B. Fisher. $5.

THIS anthology has already been criticized for its omissions. But the reviewer of anthologies who merely lists the authors who ought not to have been excluded is performing a rather dubious service. Since selection is a highly personal matter, no anthology can please everyone. To refuse to criticize an anthology on its own terms, to refuse to judge it for what it contains rather than for what it omits, is only to raise anew the question whether anthologies are desirable. The question is reasonable but irrelevant.

Moreover, this is a large anthology, studded with important names. There are twenty-one national sections, each with an introduction by an authority on the subject. The work of 141 chosen authors runs to close on a thousand pages.

If one cannot condemn an anthology purely for its omissions, one must look for the theme which runs through it and holds it together. This is where our difficulties begin with "Heart of Europe." The title is clear. So is Sergeant Mann's intention: "Wherever I may be when this anthology is published, I shall try to serve the very ideas and values discussed and dramatized in its pages." But what are these ideas and values? Mrs. Fisher avers that the "heaped-up treasures" of "Heart of Europe" are rich in remedies for our modern problems. "What better fellow-workers could there be than Maritain, than Croce, than Gorki, than Silone, than Hugo von Hofmannsthal, than Hasek?" In all its appalling unanswerability, the question points to the fallacy on which "Heart of Europe" is based.

The argument is this. The Nazis are barbarians; Maritain, Croce, Gorki, Silone, von Hofmannsthal, and Hasek are not; therefore the latter represent a system of values which we can serve. "Read Ortega y Gasset's shrewd and humane reflections!" writes Mr. Mann—and the exclamation marks are all his own; "Be moved by André Gide's fervent appeal for Joy and Progress . . .!" All distinctions are obliterated in a highbrow version of gay Paree and Congress dances. And highbrow uplift is always the most disgusting kind of uplift. Someone should have warned Messrs. Mann and Kesten: "Be moved by Nietzsche's shrewd and fervent exposure of the cultured Philistine!"

"Heart of Europe" is no heart, only scattered limbs. The material is divided according to nations, but since few national characteristics are ever alleged or even revealed, the categories are entirely arbitrary. The prospect of reading some literature of Balkan and Central European countries is in itself attractive, but the attraction fades after one has read the selections of the present anthology. One turns to Russia with a certain expectancy, for at least since Tolstoy, Chekhov, and Gorki, Russian literature has been redolent of the Russian soil and the Russian people. But "Heart of Europe" reveals neither the old Russia nor the new. White Russia is represented by a nice story by Ivan Bunin, and in a short piece by Remisov we are told that "Dostoevski is Russia." The selection from Soviet literature is much worse than discreet. The only revolutionary piece is a short and trivial poem by Mayakowski. The Gorki excerpt is another nice story. Brief passages from Ehrenburg, Sholokhov, and Alexei Tolstoy do more to disguise than to reveal the character of Soviet literature.

The German section is a strange hodge-podge. Most extraordinary is the choice of German poetry. Three stanzas of a poem by Stefan George, perfunctorily translated, are given with no indication that they are only the second half of a six-stanza poem. There are two short poems by Bert Brecht in translations of which the author disapproves and which were apparently chosen because they appeared in Mr. Mann's magazine, *Decision*. Aside from George and Brecht, German poetry is represented by Carl Zuckmayer and Else Lasker-Schüler. By way of compensation, Rilke's Second Duino Elegy, superb but unintelligible in translation and out of context, finds its place under the heading Czechoslovakia.

The best section is the French, to which Yvan Goll has written one of the few good introductions among the twenty-three of this weighty tome. But even here, after glancing over the impressive array of names, we are disappointed by the actual content. Six pages of Gide, three of Malraux, and one of Aragon are not much in a book where Thomas Mann goes on about Goethe for thirty, where Ivan Bunin speaks of "Natalie" for twenty-eight, and where Mr. Kesten speaks of "Colonel Kock" for sixteen.

"Heart of Europe," therefore, has much more to be said against it than that it omits important authors. Yet, having found a lack of unity in the book as it stands, a lack of critical sense, and a lack of proportion, we are bound to suggest choices which the editors might have made. They might have

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made a more historical selection which would have included Berthold Viertel, whose book of poems "Fürchte Dich Nicht!" is almost the only real "literature of exile" which the great exodus of refugees has produced, and Johannes R. Becher, chief of the Moscow group of German exiles, whose poems have been inflammatory propaganda among the invaders. Or they might have had an eye only to literary merit. In that case they would have eliminated most of the poetry, since poetry is largely untranslatable, and have included some dramatic pieces; for drama, despite Klaus Mann, did not "lose its spiritual significance during the period covered in this book," at least not in Germany and Russia. The present anthology is too often invidious or haphazard, and one is never quite sure which. One sometimes has the impression that it gives preference to authors who happened to be in New York or to have friends in New York at the time.

With its fragments of unidentified novels, its limping translations of poems, its scraps of historiography and criticism, its bundles of short stories, its uneven introductions often barely related to the selections that follow, "Heart of Europe" is not a "treasury" but a junk shop; for even valuables become junk when left lying around. This book is not a collection of democratic documents, though it contains Heinrich Mann's splendid Supernational Manifesto. It is not a collection of political writing, though it contains some of the literature of war and anti-fascism. It is not a collection of the best writing, though it includes most of the great names of recent European literature. Indeed, if it tells us anything at all about Europe, it is to remind us what a mess European culture will be in even after Hitler is defeated.

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

Anatomy of Nationalism

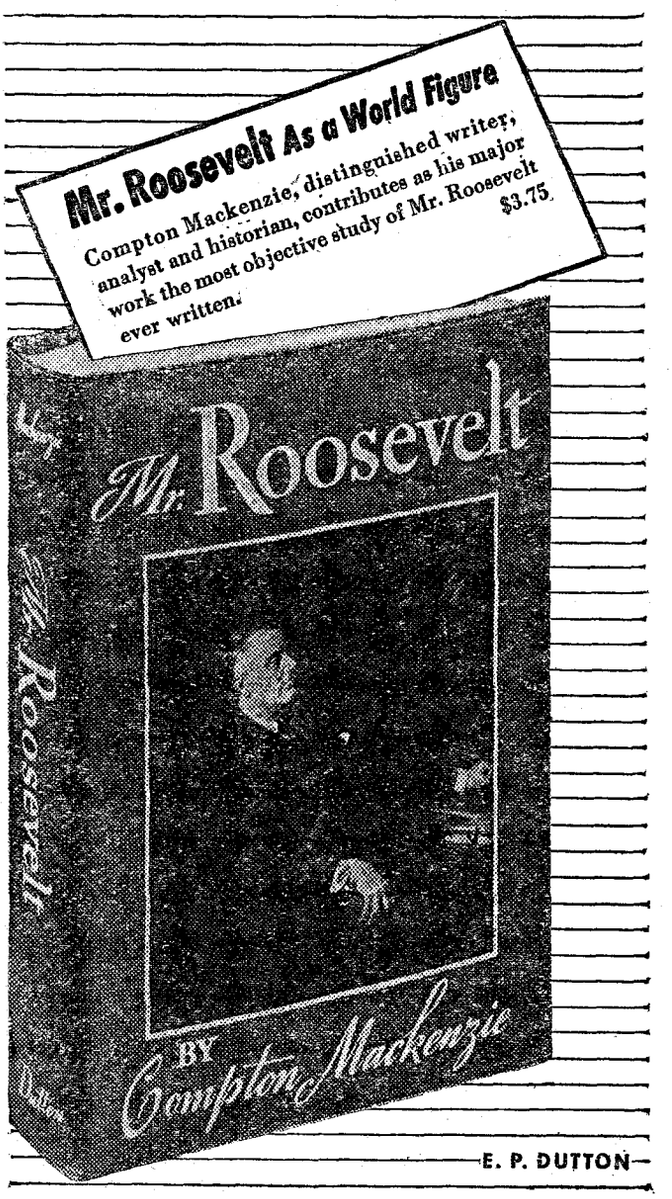
THE IDEA OF NATIONALISM: A STUDY OF ITS ORIGINS AND BACKGROUND. By Hans Kohn. The Macmillan Company. $7.50.

A SPRING cleaning of political terminology is in order. It ought to be less easy, for instance, to call anyone we dislike a Communist or a fascist; and it ought to be impossible to use the term "nationalism" anachronistically. It is generally agreed that nationalism as a state of mind does not exist before it becomes consciously manifest and is "unthinkable before the emergence of the modern state." But historians are seemingly as eager to build up the pedigree of successful ideas as genealogists are ready to invent a family tree for a successful business man.

By virtue of several previous works written over a period of more than twenty years Hans Kohn may claim to be an authority on the subject. Indeed, his introduction to the present volume is a reprint of the second chapter of his "World Order" with slight but significant differences: he has shortened a quotation from Sidney Herbert, and he has substituted a motto from Nietzsche for one from Gooch. According to Professor Kohn's competent view, "nationalism is inconceivable without the ideas of popular sovereignty preceding," and none of its attributes is more essential than "the decision to form a nationality," which becomes manifest in a mass consciousness when it recognizes "the nation-state as the ideal form of political organization." Is it not inconsistent, then, to trace nationalism back to the tribal consciousness of Israel and to call the Messianic aspect nationalistic? And to term the English Puritan Revolution "religious nationalism experienced by the English people as a revival of Old Testament nationalism" is no more clarifying than to describe a Roman *triga* as an automobile drawn by three horses.

"If we designate the tribe by the word 'nation,' as many ancient writers did," wrote Carlton J. Hayes more than ten years ago, "we can readily perceive that 'nationalism' is an attribute of primitive society." However, if we do so we deprive the term of its discriminative value. Some "unconscious and inarticulate" national feeling may have existed before nationalism was born, but if nationalism is *consciousness* of nationality and of the nation-state, the clarity of the conception is blurred if we assume, as Professor Kohn does, that "both the idea and the form of nationalism were developed before the age of nationalism." One would hardly call a foetus a child in order to explain what an embryo is.

No one will question Professor Kohn's statement that a "German national movement did not arise until the nineteenth century" and that Herder "was the first representative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of German nationalism," of which *only* Klopstock, Justus Moeser, and Herder "may be regarded as forerunners." But if that is so, why does the author discuss, among the forerunners of nationalism, Frederick II of Prussia, whom Hitler may claim as the "first National Socialist" but who as a matter of fact regarded his subjects as strangers and, according to Mme de Stael, looked upon the French *hommes d'esprit* as his compatriots? And why discuss Grimmelshausen, who "does not reveal any trace of national feeling," or treat as forerunners of German nationalism Lessing, Kant, and Goethe, who as cosmopolitans were "not concerned with the German nation" and did not have "a German ideal"?

There is no question that Professor Kohn possesses an amazing knowledge of the literature and history of bygone centuries, but I would say, following his example of quoting untranslated German poetry: "In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister." His book is scholarly in the German sense of the term: one-fifth of this voluminous study is devoted to footnotes. But fewer quotations and footnotes would have rendered his elaborate work more readable. And though his erudition commands respect, he, no more than Hayes, gives a satisfactory answer to the most intriguing question of our age: Why did evolution reverse itself and change the lovely butterfly of national spirit into the revolting caterpillar of murderous nationalism? Why, indeed, do all ideas degenerate as soon as they become instruments of political power? We hope that Professor Kohn will satisfy our curiosity in his promised volume on the rise and growth of nationalism.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Sharp as Salt

THE SUN AT NOON. By James Hearst. Muscatine, Iowa: The Prairie Press. $1.

JAMES HEARST has collected twenty-six sensitive poems written over the past twelve years or so for this small volume. They are not mere observations of rural life as seen from a Pullman window but the product of a genuine understanding of farm people and the land on which they live. Here are the hired man, the wife with good straight legs, the old dog; and here too are the hardware merchant and the girl who took a course in Commercial and wound up candling eggs in Chicago. It is a good thing in these days of man-power shortages to reflect on our days of lesser plenty, and Mr. Hearst helps a lot with such evocative poems as On Relief.

> Our glances met as glances always meet
> and sharp as salt was my surprise,
> I saw as I went down the street
> A man with want-ads in his eyes.
>
> For sale he offered to my sight
> Without the usual signboard's flash
> A man bewilderment and fright
> Can mark down cheap when prices crash . . .

Mr. Hearst's thoughts on fence rows might well be given a presentation emblazonment and sent posthaste to sundry tories. This particular row was a ripple of ground where a fence once divided a field in two. But, he points out, "the habit of being divided fades slowly and may not be smoothed out in one growing season."

> soon nothing was left
> in the wave of the ground but a few wild roses,
> though lately I found a freshly dug den
> where a fox of the old school loyal to his party
> had refused to admit that the fence row was gone.

CHARLES ALLDREDGE

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MUSIC

MOST of the teaching of the technique of piano-playing and singing is bad; but the consequences are much worse for the singer than for the pianist. If someone starts with the agile and sensitive fingers that produce facility and beautiful tone he is likely to retain them no matter what he is taught, and to develop them in the mere process of continuing to play now in accordance with the rules of one "method" and now in accordance with the rules of another. But a person who starts with a beautiful voice and who doesn't learn a way of producing the beautiful tones correctly, efficiently, without strain, is likely to lose the ability to produce them at all.

Let it be understood that I make no claim to knowledge of the technique of singing. But some things are obvious to a person with nothing but eyes and ears. To such a person there seems to be a connection between the easy flow of sound that Jennie Tourel produces and the appearance of her face—the rounded open mouth, the relaxed jaw—as she sings. And conversely he can see that Dorothy Maynor's tremolo is geared exactly with the vibration of her jaw under a mouth that is contracted to a mere slit, and a face that gives other indications of tightened, straining muscles. And he feels like rushing up to her and saying: "Stop doing that to your voice. Already the luscious beauty it had only a few years ago is gone; and the rest will go if you don't stop and find the right way of using it."

The deterioration of Miss Maynor's voice since her New York debut is painful to experience and report; but there is pleasure to be had from her growth as a musician. She sings German *Lieder* now not with the uncertainty of a person who has been coached but with the assurance of one who has achieved her own understanding of them; she has the power of dramatic projection that can put over one of Mussorgsky's Nursery Songs in an embarrassing English translation. But her assurance and understanding and dramatic power are greatest in Negro spirituals—though a friend told me that colored persons in the audience found her singing of them undignified.

Unfortunately, Virgil Thomson pointed out recently, not even "a correct method of vocal production will prevent premature exhaustion of the vocal powers." Here, for example, was Elisabeth Rethberg, who "during the 1920's and the early 1930's was known far and wide and justly celebrated not only for her beautiful voice but for the impeccable form of her emission," and who the night before had sung "with no certainty about pitch, no control of coloration, no power of sustained line, literally no technical security of any sort." To Mr. Thomson this meant "that factors of physical health, the vitality of the respiratory organs, the stability of the nervous system, all the elements that go in an athlete to make up what is known as muscular tone, are as much involved in the preservation of muscular skills (and singing well is certainly a muscular skill) as method is." And he concluded that "Miss Rethberg's once masterly and very beautiful singing must be accounted henceforth, I am afraid, a memory. Last night's massive gathering of musical celebrities and of warm personal admirers and the somewhat terrifying display of floral set pieces on the stage were merited tribute to one of the great vocal artists of our time."

I have quoted from Mr. Thomson's review not because of laziness but because of admiration of a difficult task well done. I am not sure he was right about the cause of Rethberg's present singing: the fact that her method of production was perfect once does not preclude its being faulty now; for just as a singer who starts with technical difficulties sometimes gets out of them, one who starts without difficulties can get into them; and Rethberg's face as she sang gave me the impression of muscular constriction in place of the proper relaxation. But the singing itself he described correctly; and what I admire is not only the justice of this description but the humanity, tact, and skill of the context in which he placed the heartbreaking facts that had to be told. One detail of the occasion I will add: the remarkable way in which Helmut Baerwald worked ahead of Rethberg to lay out every possible support for her voice with his piano accompaniments.

For May Victor has issued a mere handful of single discs concerned with matters of which the weightiest is the engaging Dance from Falla's "La Vida breve," well performed by Golschmann with the St. Louis Symphony and excellently recorded (11-8592; $1). On the reverse side are the Polka and Dance from Shostakovitch's "Golden Age," which I find worse at each rehearing; and on another disc (11-8591; $1) is Samuel Barber's Overture to "The School for Scandal," another product of mere facility—this time in modern comedy-overture style—that is well performed by Janssen with his Janssen Symphony of Los Angeles and excellently recorded. On still another (11-8579; $1) is *Mein Herr Marquis* from Johann Strauss's "Fledermaus," sung in Spanish with a Mexican orchestra under Ernest Roemer by Miliza Korjus, whose voice sounds curiously altered and occasionally somewhat shrill. On the reverse side is some rubbish from a film "Caballería del Imperio." The rest is too inconsequential for comment; and again I must wonder how these things ever came to be re-

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corded, and why—if Victor has nothing better of its own—it doesn't issue the H.M.V. recording of Schnabel's performance of Schubert's Sonata in B flat.

B. H. HAGGIN

ART

PEGGY GUGGENHEIM'S spring salon for abstract and surrealist artists under forty (at Art of This Century, through June 3) is a much-needed project. Nothing of very high order is shown, but enough that manifests promise. It is true that these young painters and sculptors lack force and erudition, lack profound obsessions, and aim at felicity more often than complete expression; but most of them have discovered at least the direction in which art must go today in order to be important. Fannie Hillsmith's oil is evidence—it is perhaps the best thing shown—also David Hare's large plaster construction, which needs only a more dominant and insistent rhythm. Quite a few other items give pause to the observer. In Phyllis Goldstein's brownish painting felicity almost makes up for the absence of strength. Robert Motherwell's large collage is perhaps the most interesting work present, but it lacks a certain forthright emphasis which collage usually requires. Perle Fine's Miróesque gouache, Jacqueline Lamba's painting, Eileen Agar's crayon drawing, Hedda Sterne's piece of femininity, Richard Pousette-Dart's over-elaborated oil, Aaron Ehrlich's retarded cubism, Virginia Admiral's dispersed version of Miró, and Jackson Pollock's inflated pastel and gouache—for all their shortcomings, their lack of *pressure,* these deserve attention. William Baziotes has painted an experiment rather than a picture, but it makes one more curious about his particular future than about that of any other painter present. The salon serves its function by arousing curiosity.

The *cire-perdue* bronze groups of the Brazilian sculptress, Maria Martins (at the Valentine Gallery, through June 3), are perhaps the last completely living manifestation of academic sculpture. The nature of metal almost denies itself in this monstrous and happy proliferation of plant and animal forms. The impulse is baroque, not modern, and is given by Latin colonial décor and tropical luxuriance. This sculpture expresses conceptions which Western European industry imposed on metal in the first excitement of the discovery that it could be poured into the most pliant and complicated shapes. Mme Martins's subject matter—the exhibited fertility of the open-bellied female figures, the different varieties of life growing out of and into each other in the chaos of an un-Biblical creation—animates the form, but is not quite strongly enough felt to produce more than decorative effects. Design is symmetrical; the formal relations are transparent and predictable. This is the crux of the sculptress's problem. But none of this contradicts the fact that she has immense talent. Look carefully at the piece in metal leaf called "Le Couple," and at the "Macumba" group; also the sculptured jewels, which are the best contemporary examples I have seen.

Luis Quintanilla's temperament seems unsuited to the theme—"Totalitarian Europe"—around which a showing of his latest work in water color and crayon is grouped (at the Knoedler Galleries, through June 2). Line is too graceful color too limpid and singing. The formal combinations are delicate but irrelevant to their motifs. Color is the chief trouble. Even Goya and Picasso felt compelled to restrict themselves to black and white when confronting the horrors of war.

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FILMS

WATCHING "The White Cliffs of Dover" is like drinking cup after cup of tepid orange pekoe at a rained-out garden party staged by some deep-provincial local of the English-speaking Union. Like the Alice Duer Miller "poem" from which it derives, it is a natural for our better Bovaries and their male equivalents. As the whalebone-collar "Tender Comrade," and a lot besides, it may also be unequivocally urged upon anyone who has a sufficient appetite for suffering, hatred, and a study of the devout exposition of unqualified snob dream-life. One of the movie trade papers has observed that some well-known Englishman—who apparently did not dare to give his name —thought the film unfortunate, even as an effort to foster Anglo-American amity, but that Lord Halifax liked it very much. This seems adequate check on a story Curt Riess once printed: that on the night before the Anschluss, Halifax kept an Austrian diplomat (I forget the name) who was trying to beg him to avert it waiting for hours on the ground that he was detained with a friend. The diplomat heard their gay laughter, and never saw Halifax. The friend, according to Mr. Riess's story, was von Ribbentrop.

"And the Angels Sing" is a Paramount shy at comedy, involving four small-town sisters (Dorothy Lamour, Betty Hutton, Diana Lynn, and Mimi Chandler) who pursue a dishonest jazz-band leader (Fred MacMurray) to Brooklyn. A lot of it—cruel, soggily professional, over-elaborate, and inclined toward snobbish whimsy—makes me tired, and I am especially sorry to watch the exciting potentialities of Diana Lynn turning, more and more, into mere narcissistic chilly cuteness. But Betty Hutton is almost beyond good and evil, so far as I am concerned, and I like a good many bits about the jazz musicians—the vulpine performance of Eddie Foy, Jr. (until he horses it); the jammed, harsh-lighted, pitiful Brooklyn dance hall; the faces of the musicians as they background silly songs; the moment when the band leader leaves the gasping jitterbugs to the mercy of a Hawaiian "prince" "and his Schultz Island Serenaders"; and the show's funniest, most authentic line, a warning yapped into the middle of a mass attack on the leader-trumpeter, the band's meal-ticket: "Don't hit him on the lip!"

JAMES AGEE

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Letters to the Editors

Mr. Barzun Detects

Dear Sirs: Grateful as I am for the spirit of Miss Bogan's article on the detective story in *The Nation* for April 22, I find it based on a "crime" against history so serious that I hope I may be permitted to "detect" it.

Miss Bogan states that the rise of the detective story in the nineteenth century represents a return to "form" and logic while the contemporary literature was abandoning rules and waxing anarchical. This seems to me wrong in both parts: nineteenth-century crime stories are anything but remarkable for tight construction, and the standard novels of the period are anything but deficient in form. Miss Bogan cites Poe's "Murders in the Rue Morgue" as establishing the strictest of all rules through the convention of the locked-and-barred room. This is to confuse theme and treatment. It so happens that the literary form of that particular story is not more but less rigorous than that of Poe's fantastic tales, where purposely indefinite atmosphere is bounded by clear and solid form.

And when Poe was creating the models of all future detection, Balzac had certainly achieved technical mastery. So had Dickens, Hugo, Gogol, Hawthorne, and their peers. We may not like their devices, we may scorn their plots and think all their painstaking misapplied, but to accuse them indirectly of slovenliness and anarchy is to echo an old error in defiance of criticism and scholarship.

Even leaving "literature" out of account, the fact remains that any hypothesis like Miss Bogan's which lumps together as "detection" everything from "The Mysteries of Paris" to Sherlock Holmes, is bound for shipwreck. Miss Bogan gives as one of her sources a book on *le roman policier* by Roger Caillois. I do not know the work, but through her use of it I suspect a treatment that fails to differentiate the French police novel from the detective story. The former is a kind of modernization of the historical novel of adventure: D'Artagnan becomes Lecoq, with no diminution of sensationalism. Similarly, Wilkie Collins, Dickens, and later Dostoevski dabbled in murder and mystery, but all of them belong to the school of adventure; they feed an interest in surprise, suspense, and ultimate justice, not an interest in the process of detection.

The true detective story is something else, much more recent. Though fully formed by the prescient genius of Poe, it had to wait for the popularization of science to become itself popular. Sherlock Holmes, we must not forget, made his first bow in 1887, and if Poe was his remote ancestor, T. H. Huxley and Bertillon were his foster-parents. Miss Bogan would be correct if she said that the true detective story resembles the psuedo-classic drama and the debased *opera seria* in that it presents endless minute variations of one plot for the pleasure of trained dilettanti. This in itself would help clear up her confusion of genres, as well as destroy her false inferences concerning form and filiation in nineteenth-century literature.

JACQUES BARZUN

New York, May 15

Miss Bogan Gives Evidence

Dear Sirs: I quote the first paragraph of M. Caillois's essay. I think that Mr. Barzun will agree that there is no tone of denigration here; and that the author is evidently on the side of that romantic revolution in the arts that produced the nineteenth-century novel.

> Being, as it were, the domain of license, the novel knows neither limit nor law. Its nature consists in transgressing all rules and in yielding to every temptation that solicits its fancy. Perhaps it is not fortuitous that the remarkable development of the novel in the nineteenth century coincides with the progressive rejection of the rules that once determined the form and content of literary genres. The theater emancipated itself, becoming disengaged from the classic conventions and abandoning the unities of time and place. Poetry at first permits itself all sorts of minor lapses, and finally the most grave liberties; without rhyme and indifferent to meter, verse is hardly to be distinguished from prose except by its typographical arrangement. The whole of literature seems to evade regular frames and traditional norms. Henceforth talent alone is held as the single obligation. Only one restriction is imposed upon the arbitrary will of the author: that he compose his work in his own particular manner. It is not demanded that he conform to preestablished canons, and one judges him on his genius alone. It is for him to chose what new exploits he wishes to attempt and how they are to succeed, if they reach the point of success.

And Caillois is careful to treat not only the "police novel" as it exists in France but English and American detective stories as well. He even brings out the element of "detection" in "Oedipus Rex": the tracing down of guilt by the "detective" who is himself the assassin, the use of irony in that the audience knows the solution and the characters do not. Then there is "Zadig," and "Caleb Williams"; but several writers other than M. Caillois have recently given the name of "first detective" to Vidoqc. And D. W. Brogan has stated that Wilkie Collins's "detective novels" were in a way written in order to popularize the idea of an English police force! Albert Thibaudet traces the interesting connection between Hugo's early "Notre Dame de Paris" and Sue's "Les Mystères de Paris." Later Hugo takes his own back by being influenced by "Les Mystères" when writing "Les Misérables."

My article used only a portion of the material I have at hand on the crime novel; I hope to write a more solid essay soon. But I cannot see how the detective story can resemble any genre that is based on "the pleasure of trained dilettanti." Surely the modern public of the subway newsstand and the corner lending library are not dilettantes; nor are they in any formal literary sense, as a whole, trained.

LOUISE BOGAN

New York, May 18

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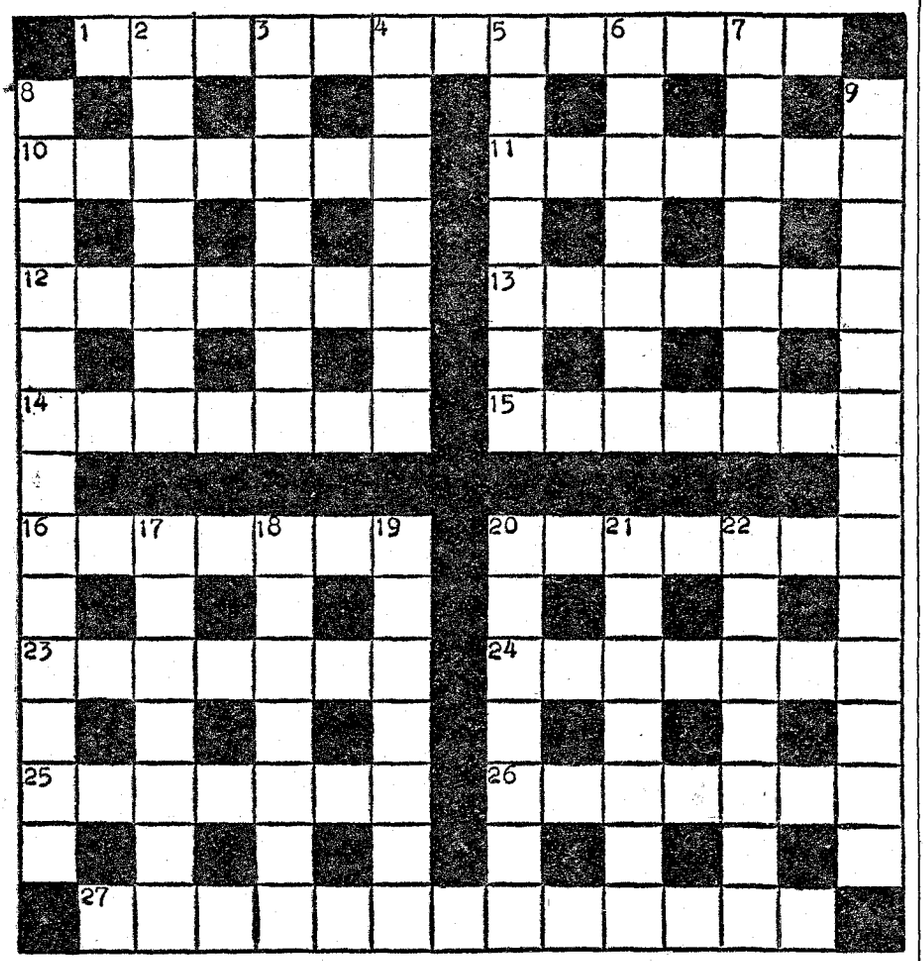
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 65

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Male clerks get them notwithstanding (two words, 5 and 8)
10 "Do you believe in -------?" asks Peter Pan; and we all say we do!
11 Leaving roly all angular?
12 White or red clover perhaps, but strictly the three-leaved variety
13 An upsetting fellow
14 Part of London from which 'Arry 'Awkins treks to 'Ampstead 'Eath on August Bank Holiday (two words, 4 and 3)
15 To-be-continued-in-our-next affairs
16 A neat leg is pleasing, it must be admitted
20 Empty bottles after a carouse
23 It gives you some idea as to what the book is about
24 Personal name of Miss B. Daniel
25 How great is the fall thereof, as honeymoon couples can attest
26 A North Carolinian
27 Shows sense in a state of unconsciousness!

DOWN

2 He rises to present a dollar princess
3 Injurious to health
4 Tweedledee and Tweedledum did in "Alice"
5 Competes with
6 His life today, we are told, is 1% being scared to death and 99% being bored to death
7 Distinctive symbols of a particular order
8 Where people go in for swimming (four words, 3, 3, 4 and 3)
9 Not fit to be seen
17 Cheer at levee
18 Moorish kettledrums
19 You will find them all in this famous London thoroughfare (two words, 3 and 4)
20 Wordy warfare
21 One liar (anag.)
22 These are the men to make money with both hands!

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 64

ACROSS:—1 JACKDAW; 5 CARAFES; 9 LORELEI; 10 NOMINAL; 11 AMONG; 12 INLAND SEA; 14 SNAG; 15 SINCERE; 18 POP; 20 SON; 21 ANISEED; 23 FULL; 26 ALARMISTS; 28 DRIVE; 29 FOUNDER; 30 ISLANDS; 31 NEEDLES; 32 NEAT RUM.

DOWN:—1 JULIAN; 2 CARROT; 3 DILIGENCE; 4 WHITING; 5 CANDLES; 6 ROMAN; 7 FINESSES; 8 SOLDATEN; 13 MON; 16 NILE DELTA; 17 ROW; 18 PARAFFIN; 19 PICAYUNE; 22 DESIRES; 23 FASHION; 24 SINNER; 25 JETSAM; 27 MEDAL.

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